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INDIANA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS



VOLUME VII



1923

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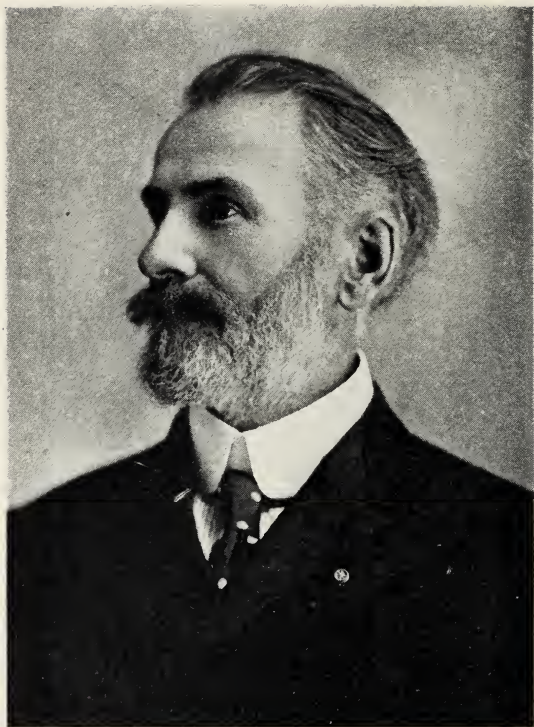
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PIERRE GEORGES ROY.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

VOL. 7.

No. 1.

Sieur de Vincennes Identified

BY

PIERRE-GEORGES ROY

INDIANAPOLIS
C. E. PAULEY & COMPANY

INTRODUCTORY

On November 3, 1672, the Canadian fief of Vincennes was granted to Francois Bissot. On his death it passed to his son, Jean Baptiste Bissot, who died at the Indian village of Kiki-on-ga, the site of Fort Wayne, in 1719. From that date there has been found no official record of the ownership in Canada until 1749, when it passed by judicial decree to Joseph Roy. It is an interesting coincidence—for Indiana, a happy coincidence—that the centennial year of Indiana's statehood should have been made more memorable by the identification of the Sieur de Vincennes, who succeeded Jean Baptiste Bissot, and who founded the first permanent settlement in Indiana, by a descendant of Joseph Roy. Ever since Americans began the study of the early French history of this region, the identity of this Sieur de Vincennes has been almost as mysterious as that of the Man in the Iron Mask, or the author of the Letters of Junius. Judge Law, the first American who undertook any systematic investigation of the history of Vincennes, stated that he signed his name "Francois Morgan de Vinsenne"; but Morgan is not a Canadian or French name, and the fief was in the Bissot family until 1749. But a sister of Jean Baptiste Bissot married Seraphin Margane, which is the French name most nearly approaching "Morgan", and it has generally been assumed that a son or grandson of hers must have been our Sieur de Vincennes. It has remained for M. Pierre-Georges Roy, an erudite Canadian writer, to unearth the conclusive documentary evidence that our founder was Francois Bissot, a son of Jean Baptiste Bissot, who was in the French military service at the same time as his father; and that this Francois Bissot's godfather was his uncle Francois Margane. This clears the mystery, it being evident that Francois Bissot as-

sumed his godfather's name, as was often done by the early Canadians, to distinguish himself from his father, who signed his name "Bissot de Vinsenne". The same document also establishes the fact that the first French post in Indiana was built at Fort Wayne in 1722, and gives us a definite point for the beginning of European settlement within our borders, although this post was not permanent, the post having been destroyed by the Indians in 1747.

Pierre-Georges Roy, to whom Indiana is indebted for this information, was born at Levis, across the St. Lawrence from Quebec, October 23, 1870. He is the son of the Notary Leon Roy and Marguerite de Lavoye, being the twelfth child in a family of fourteen. One of his elder brothers was the distinguished J. Edmond Roy, President of the Royal Society of Canada, and author of the History of the Seigneurie of Lauzon. M. Leon Roy was able to give his family good educations, and Pierre-Georges graduated in turn from the College of Levis, the Seminary of Quebec, and the University of Laval. Literary by inclination, his first venture was the establishment, in 1890, of *Le Glaneur*, a magazine for young people, which was continued for two years. He then entered journalistic work on the *Quotidien*, at Levis, and the *Canadien*, at Quebec, and established *Le Moniteur*, at Levis. In 1894 he was made deputy Clerk of the Court of Appeals at Quebec, in which office he remained for twenty years, meanwhile continuing his historical and literary researches. In 1895 he established *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, which has been, and still is, the great arena for Canadian historical discussion, and is the recognized organ of the *Societe des Etudes Historiques*. In addition to editorial work, M. Roy is the author of numerous publications among which, with their dates of issue, are the following:

La Réception de Mgr le Vicomte D'Argenson, 1890; *Premier Voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada*, 1890; *Oraison*

Funebre du Comte de Frontenac, 1895; Les Troubles de L'Eglise du Canada en 1728, 1897; La Neuvième Législature de Québec, 1897; Guide de Levis, 1898; Bibliographie de la Poésie Franco-Canadienne, 1900; La Famille Taschereau, 1901; Notre-Dame de Bonsecours de L'Islet, 1901; Sainte-Julie de Somerset, 1901; La Dixième Législature de Québec, 1901; Sainte-Antoine de Tilly, 1902; La Famille, Frémont, 1902; La Famille Juchereau Duchesnay, 1903; La Famille D'Estimauville de Beaumouchel, 1903; La Famille Taché, 1904; La Famille Godefroy de Tonnancour, 1904; Un Procès Criminel a Québec au 17e Siècle, 1904; Oraison Funèbre de Mgr de Pontbriand, 1905; La Famille D'Irumberry de Salaberry, 1905; La Famille Robert de la Morandière, 1905; La Famille des Champs de Boishebert, 1906; La Famille Panet, 1906; Oraison Funèbre de Mgr Briand, 1906; Les Noms Géographiques de Québec, 1906; La Famille Renaud D'Avène des Meloizes, 1907; La Famille Aubert de Gaspè, 1907; La Famille Boisseau, 1907; La Famille Adhémar de Lantagnac, 1908; La Famille Jarret de Verchères, 1908; La Famille Mariauchau D'Esgly, 1908; La Famille Céloron de Blainville, 1909; La Famille de Ramezay, 1910; Autour de la Buvette, 1910; Le Grand Menteur, 1911; La Famille Bailly de Messein, 1911; La Famille des Bergères de Rigauville, 1912; La Famille Faribault, 1913; La Famille Bécard de Grandville, 1914; La Famille Viennay-Pachot, 1915; La Famille Foucault, 1915; La Famille Glackemeyer, 1915; La Famille Chavigny de la Chevrotière, 1,16; La Famille Margane de Lavaltrie, 1917; La Famille Guillimin, 1917; Inventaire D'une Collection de Pièces Judiciaires, Notariales, etc., etc., 2 vols. 1917; La Glaneur, 2 vols.; Le Moniteur, 2 vols.; Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, 23 vols, (1) 1895-1917.

These works are historical with the exception of *Autour de la Buvette* and *Le Grand Menteur*, which are temperance arguments, M. Roy being a stalwart prohibitionist. Among

the recognitions of his literary work have been his election to the Royal Society of Canada in 1904, the decoration of Officier de L'Instruction Publique from the French Government in 1905, the degree of Doctor of Letters from the University of Laval in 1906, and the appointment of Federal Archivist of Quebec in 1915. For putting it in touch with M. Roy, the Indiana Historical Society is indebted to Hon. Merrill Moores, who visited Quebec in the summer of 1916, and learned that M. Roy had made a collection of documents concerning the Bissot family. Mr. Moores says of his visit:

"I went to Quebec for the purpose of finding a representative of the Roy family, who I supposed would be still in possession of the seignory. I went to Buffalo and down by boat to Quebec, and was told by a priest on the boat that a lawyer and also a historian, brothers who belonged to the Roy family, which had possessed the seignory, were still living in Levis, across from the city of Quebec, the one being named Edmond and the other Georges. I crossed to Levis and made inquiries as to both of these gentlemen, and found that the lawyer, who had been a man of prominence, was dead. I then, with some difficulty, located the house of the man I had been told was a college professor and historian. His house was temporarily vacant, but a neighbor told me that I would find him at his country house to the east of Levis. Being unable to get a cab, I took a trolley car as far as it went and learned from a grocer where the country house was, and started across a tremendous meadow in the direction of the country house. In crossing the meadow I met a gentleman walking toward the city of Levis with a boy and a girl, of about eleven and nine years old. I spoke to the gentleman in English and asked to be directed to the residence of Mr. Roy. He told me in French that he was Mr. Roy, and he and I walked back to Levis together. He told me that the seignory was several miles to the east

of where I had met him, and that his country house was only about half a mile east of there, and was on land which had belonged to the seignors, and was on the site of the old family tannery. Returning, he showed me where the bakery of the original Roy had been located. This had long ago disappeared. It seems that Bissot was the principal tanner and Roy the principal baker in early colonial days. I had an invitation from Mr. Roy who took me to his office at 23 Rue St. Louis, Quebec (which is a part of the old mansion occupied by the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, at the time when he was Governor General of Lower Canada). I had a very delightful visit with Mr. Roy, who, as I say, offered to drive me out to the old fief. But Congress was in session and I had to go back and could not get out. I have a promise from him, however, to show me the fief on my next visit to Quebec. It is between 600 and 700 acres, and is quadrangular in shape, being perhaps a quarter of a mile on the river and running back a considerable distance to the south of the river. It is directly south of the Isle d' Orleans. It is in the county of Bellechasse. The village of Beaumont is, I think, on the fief. The old fief now belongs to a Quebec lawyer named Grahame. I think his name is Stuart Grahame. Mr. Roy has written a great deal of Canadian history, particularly with regard to old Canadian families and early trials. He is not a lawyer, but is a professor in Laval University, and is Public Archivist of the Province. His cousin, Alfred Valère Roy, is the Liberal member of the Legislative Assembly for Quebec for the constituency of Levis; and another relative is Camille Roy, secretary of Laval University. Another is Paul Eugene Roy, auxiliary bishop of Quebec. Still another, Phillippe, is Commissioner of Canada, in France, and has been and possibly still is a Senator in the Canadian Senate."

The Society is indebted to Mrs. Charles W. Moores for the translation of M. Roy's documents, which were in French; and also to Miss Belle Noble Dean, for typewriting the translation.

The translations follow.

J. P. DUNN,
Secretary, Ind. Hist. Soc.

SIEUR DE VINCENNES IDENTIFIED

PONT-AUDEMER, PLACE OF THE ORIGIN, IN FRANCE, OF THE
BISSOTS OF VINCENNES.

The town of Pont-Audemer is today the chief place of the district of the department of l'Eure. Its population is a little more than six thousand souls. The actual town of Pont-Audemer is situated on the site of an ancient military post on the Roman road from Lillebonne to Lisieux.

After the Norman conquest, Pont-Audemer formed the endowment of an important Norman family. One of the lords of the town, Onfroi, built the walls and the castle. In 1122 the town was burned by Henry I of England, and the castle suffered a siege of seven weeks. In 1203 the seigniori of Pont-Audemer was confiscated by Richard the Lion-hearted. Then it was attached to the duchy of Normandy by John Lackland. The next year Pont-Audemer submitted to Philip Augustus, who established and extended its communal liberties. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries many provincial councils were held at Pont-Audemer, notably in 1244, 1257, 1259, 1260, 1265, 1267, 1269, 1279, 1286, 1291, 1305, 13321. In the fourteenth century likewise many of the Norman states held their councils at Pont-Audemer.

On the second of February, 1353, John the Good, among other domains abandoned the viscounty of Pont-Audemer to the king of Navarre, Charles the Bad. This town was then by many seiges disputed between the troops of Navarre and the royal armies. In 1378 Du Guesclin and admiral Jean de Vienne took possession of it and razed the walls and the castle. Charles the Third the Noble, son of Charles the Bad, re-

nounced his rights over Pont-Audemer in consideration of a sum of ready money. In 1418 Pont-Audemer fell into the power of the English. In the following year, Dunois re-occupied it in the name of the king of France. During the religious wars the town was taken and retaken several times by the protestants and the catholics.

Pont-Audemer was in the middle ages an important port. It is said to have furnished sixty ships to the expedition of William the Conqueror. Pont-Audemer is now no more than a little river port frequented annually by about five hundred ships of different tonnage. Since the eleventh century the inhabitants of the town have been engaged successfully in the manufacture of fabrics and the preparation of leather. The making of paper was already flourishing in the fifteenth century. These three industries have continued at Pont-Audemer until our time. Francois Bissot de la Rivière, who introduced tanneries so successfully in New France, had been then in a good school.

Pont-Audemer still possesses some beautiful monuments. Notably the church of Saint-Oeun, whose choir goes back to the eleventh century; the church of Notre-Dame du Pré, where Francois Bissot de la Rivière was baptized, of which there remains a nave which is considered to go back to the twelfth century; the church of Saint-Germain la Campagne, which has also a nave of the eleventh century.*

*This information about Pont-Audemer is taken from *The History of the Town of Pont-Audemer*, from the *Dictionnaire Historique du Department de L'Eure* and from the *Grande Encyclopedie*.

*GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY BISSOT DE
VINCENNES.*

FRANCOIS BISSOT DE LA RIVIERE.

Francois Bissot de la Rivière was originally from Pont-Audemer, a town of ancient Normandy, which today forms a part of the department of l'Eure. Born in the parish of Notre-Dame des Prés, he was a son of "the honorable man", Jean Bissot du Gommer and of Marie Assour. Bissot went to New France before 1639. He died at the Hotel-Dieu of Quebec on the 26th of July, 1673, age fifty-nine years, and was buried in the cemetery of the hospital.

On the 25th of October, 1648, Francois Bissot de la Rivière married at Quebec, Marie Couillard, daughter of Guillaume Couillard and of Guillemette Hébert. Two years after the death of Francois Bissot de la Rivière, on the 7th of September, 1675, at Quebec, Marie Couillard married again, Jacques de Lalande-Gayon, son of Pierre de Lalande-Gayon and of Marie d'Arasne, of the town of Bayonne. Madame de Lalande died at Saint-Pierre in the island of Orleans on the 22d of June, 1703, and was buried the next day in the cemetery of this parish. Jacques de Lalande-Gayon, after the death of his wife, was certainly settled in France for six years.* From the marriage of François de la Rivière and of Marie Couillard were born twelve children:

*Jacques de Lalande-Gayon, however, went to Quebec in 1704, probably to arrange the inheritance of his wife but he soon returned to France. From the marriage of Jacques de Lalande-Gayon and of Marie Couillard there was born at Quebec a son on the 26th of June, 1677: Jacques-Marie de Lalande-Gayon. He became captain of vessel in the service of the king of Spain. By his will, received at Bayonne on the 3rd of August, 1753, before the notary Duclercq, he gave to his nephew, Louis de Lafontaine, the eldest son of M. de

1—*Jean-Francois Bissot.*

Born at Quebec the 6th of December, 1649; died in the same place on the 25th of November, 1653. He was buried the next day in the chapel of St. Joseph of the parish church, on the right side of the altar.

2—*Louise Bissot.*

Born at Quebec the 25th of September, 1651; married at Quebec the 12th of August, 1668, to Séraphin Margane de Lavaltrie, lieutenant of a company of a regiment of Lignières, son of Sebastien Margane and of Denise Tonnot, of the parish of Saint-Benoit, town and archbishopric of Paris.

M. Margane de Lavaltrie died at Montreal May 16, 1699, and was buried the next day in the parish church. Madame de Lavaltrie survived her husband almost thirty-four years before she died at Montreal, March 1, 1733.* From their marriage eleven children were born: five sons and six daughters. Two of their sons were killed in the service of the king. Another, after having lived in Labrador for many years and having raised a family, became a priest. The one who continued the line died at an advanced age after having served under the crowns of France and England. The daughters all made distinguished marriages. The family Margane de Lavaltrie died out among us at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

M. Benjamin Sulte (*Le Regiment de Carignan*, p. 85) makes her die in 1691.

3—*Genevieve Bissot.*

Born at Quebec May 25, 1653; married at Quebec June 12, 1673, to Louis Maheu, son of the late René Maheu and the Lafontaine de Belcour and of Charlotte Bissot, all his property, his rights and law suits which he might have in Canada, on condition that he lend assistance and aid to his sister with whom the said testator recommended him to live on good terms and with friendship. M. de Lalande-Gayon valued the property he left in this manner to Louis de Lafontaine at the sum of eight thousand livres.

late Marguerite Corriveau. M. Maheu died in his house in the lower town of Quebec November 24, 1683, and was buried on the 26th in the parish cemetery. M. J. Edmond Roy relates an annoying adventure which happened to the widow Maheu; "Nicolas Daneau Sieur de Muy, captain of a company of infantry, and who was to be later appointed governor of Louisiana, courted her. He had promised marriage and the terms of the betrothal had been solemnly agreed upon, when one fine day suddenly the amorous one disappeared. It was learned in the spring of 1687 that he was about to marry at Boucherville a granddaughter of Pierre Boucher, the old governor of Trois-Rivières. In spite of the protestations of the discarded beauty, M. de Caumont, then missionary at Boucherville, married the faithless one to Mlle. Marguerite Boucher. A law suit was begun in the court of the provost at Quebec, and the priest who had celebrated the marriage was summoned to explain himself. They were summoned to the bishop's court, the pledges of the fickle officer were seized. The situation threatened to become more and more complicated when, to avoid too great a scandal, it was decided that M. de Muy should pay a compensation of 350 livres to the widow, and that the affair should be forgotten.*

We after that lose sight of the widow Maheu.

On April 4, 1869, the Sovereign Council rendered an important judgment in a law suit begun by Francois Vianney Pachot, merchant of Quebec, against the widow Maheu. She had obtained the possession of the effect of the renunciation which she had made to the common possession which had existed between her and her late husband. She was, how-

**Historie de la seigneurie de Lauzon*, vol. 1, p. 250. Concerning Nicolas Daneau de Muy consult the *Bulletin Des Recherches Historiques*, vol. X, p. 345.

ever, sentenced to give back the sum of 240 livres and 10 deniers into the sum total of the personal effect of the said common possession.†

4—*Catherine Bissot.*

Born at Quebec March 6, 1655. Married at Saint-Joseph de la Pointe-Levy Nov. 27, 1670, to Etienne Charest, son of the late Pierre Charest and of Renée Marle of the parish of Sainte-Radegonde, city and bishopric of Poitiers. Madame Charest died at Saint-Joseph de la Pointe-Levy in 1694.* M. Charest died at the same place May 5, 1699, and was buried the next day in the parish church. Of the marriage of Etienne Charest and Catherine Bissot were born ten children. One of them, Etienne Charest, was, in 1763, sent to England as a deputy of the people to beg the king of Great Britain to grant his new subjects a bishop to be governor of the church of Canada. The family Charest left Canada in 1765.

5—*Claire-Francoise Bissot.*

Born at Quebec April 13, 1656. Married at Quebec October 7, 1675, to Louis Jolliet, son of the late Jean Jolliet and of Marie d'Abancourt. Louis Jolliet died between May and September, 1700, on one of the Mingan islands or on the island of Anticosti. We know nothing definite on this point. Madame Jolliet died at Quebec March 1, 1710, and was buried the next day at the parish church.

Of the marriage of Louis Jolliet and Claire-Francoise Bis-

†Jugements et Deliberations Du Conseil Souverain, vol. 111, p. 313.

*The act of the burial of Madame Charest cannot be found in the register, but an entry made in the account book of the vestry board allows no doubt of the date of her death. In the giving in of the account of the church warden Guillaume Albert for 1694: "I have received from M. Charest fourteen pounds which he owes for the burial of his wife." The following year the church warden received thirty-four pounds, the balance of the expense of this burial." (A note of M. Edmond Roy.)

sot there were born seven children. Their two sons Jean-Baptiste Jolliet de Mingan and Charles Jolliet d' Anticosti, have numerous descendants in the province of Quebec. Louise Grignon, the daughter of Jean Grignon, who married Marie Genevieve Jolliet, the eldest daughter of Louis Jolliet, became the wife of the baron of Castelnau.

6—*Marie Bissot.*

Born at Quebec July 3, 1657; married at Quebec December 5, 1682, to Claude Porlier, merchant, son of the late Claude Porlier and of Marie-Madeleine Sylvain, of the parish of Saint-Séverin, city and archbishopric of Paris.

M. Porlier died at Quebec July 31, 1689, and was buried in the parish church. Marie Bissot married again at Quebec, February 26, 1691, Jacques Gourdeau, of Beaulieu, son of Jacques Gourdeau de Beaulieu, citizen, and Eléonore de Grandmaison. Madame Gourdeau de Beaulieu died at Quebec July 23, 1719, and was buried in the parish church the next day. M. Gourdeau de Beaulieu died in his turn July 2, 1721.*

Marie Bissot had children by her two marriages. The Porlier family died out among us about the middle of the nineteenth century. The Gourdeau are still numerous in the district of Quebec. Colonel Gourdeau ex- sub minister of the Marine, is descended from Jacques G. de B. and Marie Bissot.

7—*Guillaume Bissot.*

Born at Quebec September 16, 1661.

In the inventory of the property of François Bissot de la Rivière made April 27, 1676, by the notary Becquet, it is

*Neither Mgr. Tanguay nor the registers of Notre Dame of Quebec mention the death of M. Gourdeau. We have found this information in a request addressed to the Superior Council of Quebec in October, 1732, by Jacques G. de B., son of Jacques G. de B. and of Marie Bissot, to obtain some letters of inheritance without liability to debts beyond assets descended.

said that Louis Jolliet is the guardian of the minor Bissots among others Guillaume fifteen years old.

On the other hand, in the census by name of the colony of New France made in 1681, there is no mention of Guillaume Bissot. From which one can conclude that he died between 1676 and 1681.

8—*Charles-François Bissot.*

Born at Quebec February 5, 1654.

He was married at Montreal, February 28, 1699, to Anne-François Forestier, daughter of Antoine Forestier, surgeon, and of Marie-Madeleine Cavelier. M. Bissot carried on business at Mingan for twenty years. In 1705 he turned his energies toward the island of Terre Neuve where he had rented the fief and seigniori of Port-à-Choix in order to carry on there fishing and trading. We lose sight of him from this time. It is possible that he died at Terre-Neuve and also his wife and François Forestier. We know of one child Marie Madeleine Bissot born at Montreal December 5, 1699; died at Lachine March 22, 1718.

9—*Marie-Charlotte Bissot.*

Marie-Charlotte Bissot, born at Quebec June 4, 1666. Married at Saint-Joseph de la Pointe-Lévy, February 25, 1686, to Pierre Benac, a native of Bayonne, merchant of Quebec. In 1690 M. Benac was controller general of the farms of the king in New France. M. Benac returned to France toward the end of the 17th century. His wife followed him there since our parish registers nowhere mention her burial.

Father Paul du Poisson, Jésuit, traveling in Louisiana in the summer of 1727, wrote to his confère father, Louis Patouillet: "We left the Chapitoulas on the 29th. Although a larger canoe had been sent us, and in spite of the new arrangement of our party, we had almost as much discomfort

as before. We had only two miles to go that day in order that we might spent the night at Cannes Boulées, at the house of M. de Benac, director of the concession of M. D'Artagnan. He received us with friendship and regaled us with a Mississippi carp which weighed thirty-five pounds."

Could this M. de Benac who received so well the missionary Jésuit be our Benac? At all events we have no trace of M. Benac or of his wife after their departure from Canada.

10—*Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes.*

Known by the name Jean; was born at Quebec January 19, 1668. He was an officer in the troops of the detachment of the Marine; and died among the Miamis in 1719.

M. Bissot de Vincennes married at Montreal, September 19, 1696, Marguerite Forestier, daughter of Antoine Forestier, surgeon, and of Marie-Madeleine Cavelier. Madame Bissot de Vincennes died at Montreal September 27, 1748, and was buried the next day in the parish church. Of the marriage of Jean Baptiste Bissot and Marguerite Forestier there were born seven children:

(1) Marie-Louise Bissot de Vincennes—Born at Montreal June 20, 1697; married at Quebec, June 4, 1741, to Nicolas Boisseau, chief clerk of the provost of Quebec, widower of Marie-Anne Pagé de Quercy. She died at Quebec June 14, 1766. M. Boisseau died in the same place February 9, 1771.

(2) Claire-Charlotte Bissot de Vincennes—Born at Quebec May 6, 1698; a nun of the congregation of Notre-Dame, under the name of Soeur de l'Ascension. Died at Montreal April 25, 1773, and was buried on the 27th in the chapel of the Infant Jesus of the parish church.

(3) François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes—Born at Montreal June 17, 1700. Officer in the troops of the detachment of the Marines. Founder of the post of Vincennes. Burned

to death by the Chicksaws on the Mississippi* on the 25th of March, 1736.

He had married in 1733 ——— Longpré, daughter of Philippe Longpré of Kaskaskia. Of this marriage were born two daughters, Marie Therese, who became the wife of M. de L'Isle and Catherine.

(4) Marguerite-Catherine Bissot de Vincennes—Born at Montreal September 10, 1701. Died at the Hotel-Dieu at Quebec May 3, 1767, and was buried the next day in the convent cemetery.

(5) Catherine Bissot de Vincennes—Born at Montreal October 11, 1704. Died at the general hospital of the Gray Sisters at Montreal September 20, 1778, and was buried the 22d in the cemetery near the parish church.

(6) Michel Bissot de Vincennes—Born October, 1706. Died at Montreal January 10, 1709.

(7) Pierre Bissot de Vincennes—Born at Montreal August 27, 1710. Died in the same place August 29, 1710.

11—*Jeanne Bissot.*

Born at Quebec April 10, 1671. Married at Quebec April 7, 1687, to Philippe Clement du Valult de Valrennes, captain of a company of the troops of the detachment of the Marine, son of the late Antoine C du V. de V. and of Françoise De Coeur of the parish of Saint-Germain de la Potherie, bishopric of Beauvais. May 1, 1698, M. de Valrennes, weakened in consequence of his severe campaigns, obtained his discharge. He left for France with his wife in the autumn of 1698.

Madame de Valrennes was still living in 1708, since on the sixth of June of that year the minister wrote to M. l'Abbé de Mignon to ask him if the widow Valrennes whom

*According to the most probable opinion M. de Vincennes and his companions were burned near Fulton in Lee County, Miss.

he had recommended to him was French or Canadian, and if she was of noble family.

12—*Francois-Joseph Bissot.*

Born at Quebec May 19, 1673. Married at Quebec February 4, 1698, to Marie Lambert-Dumont, daughter of the late Eustache Lambert-Dumont, who when he was living was a citizen and merchant of Quebec, and of Marie Vanneck. M. Bissot died at Quebec December 11, 1737, and was buried the next day in the parish church under his pew. Madame Bissot died at Quebec May 3, 1745, and was also buried in the parish church. Of their marriage there were born nine children:

(1) Louise-Claire Bissot—Born at Quebec June 23, 1701. Married at Quebec, May 13, 1726, to Jean Fournel, son of Jean Fournel and of Marthe Crespín of the parish of Saint Caparacy, bishopric of Agen. M. and Mme. Fournel died in France.

(2) Charlotte Bissot—Born at Quebec April 30, 1704. Married at Quebec, October 24, 1728, to Jacques de Lafontaine de Belcour, son of Jean de Lafontaine, officer of the king and of Bernardine Jouin, of the parish of Versailles. She died at Quebec November 21, 1749, and was buried the next day in the parish church. M. de Lafontaine de Belcour died at Quebec June 18, 1765. They had several children. A number of their descendants still live in the district of Quebec.

(3) François-Etienne Bissot—Born at Quebec May 26, 1708. Died in the same place February 7, 1726. Buried in the parish cemetery.

(4) Jean Bissot—Born at Quebec November 30, 1711. Died in the same place December 1, 1711. Buried in the parish cemetery.

(5) Joseph Bissot—Born at Quebec September 4, 1713.

Died at Saint-Augustine November 3, 1713. Buried in the parish cemetery.

(6) Marie Bissot—Born at Mingan December, 1715. Died at Quebec August 18, 1720. Buried the next day in the parish cemetery.

(7) Louise Bissot—Born at Mingan August, 1718. Died at Quebec November 9, 1730. Buried the next day in the parish cemetery.

(8) Angelique Bissot—Born at Quebec December 12, 1719. Married at Quebec, September 17, 1737, to Jean Baptiste Poitevin de la Salmonais, son of the nobleman Henri Poitevin-Desorme and of the late Jeanne-Olive Arsan, of the parish of Saint Malo. This union was of short duration. In the autumn of the same year 1737 M. Poitevin de la Salmonais set sail for Martinique on the ship *Le Prudent*, commanded by Charles Cotterelle of Maine. He died in the course of this voyage. Of this marriage there was born a posthumous child, Marie Angelique Poitevin de la Salmonais, born at Quebec the 11th of July, 1738. After the death of her husband the widow Poitevin went to France to obtain the allowance of her matrimonial rights. On September 3, 1743, by the intervention of Jacques de Lafontaine, her brother-in-law, she demanded from the Lieutenant General of the Provost of Quebec to call together an assemblage of her relatives in order to select from among them a guardian and to allow her to remarry. The assemblage of her relatives took place the next day and the widow Poitevin de la Salmonais received permission to marry a second time the sieur Alexander-Jean Devaux, receiver of customs at Saint Malo, "or with any other who presented himself and suited her". In 1745 she was still a widow and lived at Rouen.

(9) Marie-Charlotte Bissot—Born at Mingan March 4,

1722. Married at Quebec, October 3, 1736, Jean-Pierre-François Vederic, the son of François Vederic and of Julie Houet, of the parish Notre-Dame de Havre de Grâce, the diocese of Rouen.

The census of the parish of Quebec in 1744 shows us that François Vederic navigator, thirty-five years old, and his wife Marie Bissot lived at that time at Quebec. The census gives them one child, Jacques François, seven years old. We then lose sight of M. Vederic. The widowed Mme. Vederic retired to the convent hospital of Quebec. She died in this hospital June 7, 1772, and was buried the next day in the cemetery of the nuns of the convent.

FRANÇOIS BISSOT DE LA RIVIERE.

(Grandfather of François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes.)

The presence of François Bissot, sieur de la Rivière, is noticed for the first time in an act of notary of 1647. He might possibly have come to Canada before this year. Ferland, who is so conscientious an investigator that one rarely finds him at fault, gives the name of Bissot in a list of colonists who came to Canada between 1641 and 1647, without giving precise information about it.*

François Bissot came originally from Pont-Audemer, a town of ancient Normandy, which now forms part of the department de l'Eure. His family lived in the parish of Notre-Dame des Prés. They were of good bourgeois stock, since the documents of the period speak of the father of François Bissot, Jean Bissot, sieur du Gommer, as "an honorable man."

*M. l'abbé Ferland is mistaken. Bissot was already in Quebec in 1639. July 2, 1639, he was present when the Jesuits took possession of the island Aux Ruaux. See the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, Vol. II, p. 88.

Bissot first placed his estate on the coast of Lauzon, on point Lévy. This seignior, conceded since 1636, was still wild and uncultivated. The exploration which Father Druillettes made along the right bank of the St. Lawrence in 1646, in going up the river from the falls of the Chaudière in order to get to New England, seems to have given the first impulse toward establishments opposite Quebec.

The first house was built on Point-Lévy the same year that Father Druillettes returned, 1647. Bissot had gone into partnership with one of his Norman compatriots, the famous interpreter, Guillaume Couture, to begin the development of his land. In the summer of 1647 one could have seen the former companion of Father Jogues wielding the axe in the midst of the great forests which then covered the coast. By autumn he had felled a certain number of trees and finished a little hut, a rustic dwelling made of roughly hewn timber. Bissot, who had contributed to the expense and furnished the material for construction, arranged with Couture to pay him two hundred livres for his work and to allow him possession of the clearing until Michaelmas 1648. (Agreement signed November 4, 1647. Greffe Claude Lecoustre.)

October 15, 1648, Jean de Lauzon, who then lived in Paris, granted to these two first copyhold tenants the regular titles of concession. The estates of Bissot and of Couture were neighboring. They each contained two hundred surface acres, five acres of frontage on the river and forty acres of depth inland. A little brook which flowed headlong into the river near Indian Cove twenty paces from the station of the Intercolonial separated the two estates. Couture lived on the right bank of the brook; Bissot occupied the left. The brook was held in common by the two colonists.

Between the two farms a road eighteen feet wide was

to run toward the great royal road projected all the way to the river. Jean Bourdon, engineer and surveyor, had already traced its limits himself in 1647. Bissot was to pay to his seignior each year twelve deniers of quit rent for each acre cultivated and changed into arable land or into meadow land, and to send to the fiscal agent at Michaelmas twenty-five salted and well seasoned eels. He had to have his land tilled within three years under penalty of revocation of the title. On his side the seignior reserved the right of repurchase in case of sale according to the custom of Normandy.

Bissot went to France in 1649 and returned from there in July. On August 9, 1653, Bissot was named deputy in the syndic body of Quebec to represent there the post of Lauzon. The seignior of Lauzon, absent from the country, could not fulfil toward his tenants the obligations which the feudal régime imposed upon him. Since 1655 Bissot had had a mill on Point Lévy where the colonists could bring their grain to be ground. The brook which separated the estate of Bissot from that of Couture turned the mill stone. In order to have all the property rights of this stream of water, Bissot arranged with Couture that he would grind his grain gratuitously for twenty years.

Bissot de la Rivière, while he was clearing his land on Point-Lévy, lived most of the time in Quebec. In the census of 1667 one finds on the farm at Lauzon three servants: Jean Guay, twenty-eight years old; Martin l'Enfilé, twenty-nine years old; Pierre Perrot, thirty-two years old.

He seems to have wished to group around his colonial estate people from Normandy. Guillaume Couture, with whom he had originally contracted a partnership for clearing the land was Norman like himself and possessed, in France, land situated at la Haye-Aubraye, fifteen kilometres from Pont-Audemer. Among the compatriots of Bissot set-

tled on Point-Lévy there was Louis Bégin, the ancestor of Cardinal Bégin, who was originally from Lieurey, a little parish in the suburbs of Pont-Audemer. François Becquet, who bought a piece of land in Lauzon, April 6, 1660, was a nephew of François Bissot. He came from Notre-Dame des Préaux, a parish situated six kilometres from Pont-Audemer. The families Lebieux, Chartier, Pourveau came likewise from Normandy.

A letter from Governor Jean de Lauzon, dated Paris, March 8, 1664, gives to Bissot a new concession of ten acres of land fronting along the river St. Lawrence and forty in depth. This concession touched on one side the rives des Etchemins and on the other side Jean Adam. It took in all the islands situated at the mouth of this river and the rights of hunting and fishing. M. de Lauzon said in his letter that he wished in this way to recompense Bissot for the good services which he had rendered to the people of the seigniori.

Bissot, representing the tenants of Lauzon in the syndic body, had indeed rendered them considerable service, but the family of Lauzon owed him still more recognition. For it was he who had discharged the obligation of building a common mill, since the seigniori, sparsely settled, could not yet yield a sufficient revenue to grind its own grain. He took part also in the organization of seigniorial justice. He was made fiscal agent toward the end of 1650 and succeeded Charles Sevestre as provost judge. Bissot filled this last office until his death.

After the death of the governor of Lauzon and the tragic disappearance of most of the members of his family, he took the seigniori by farm-hold, in partnership with Eustache Lambert, and gave himself up to its development. In 1668, when the metropole ordered that the seignors render faith and homage and make the avowal and enumeration of their lands,

Bissot presented himself to the controller and demanded allowance for the minors of the Lauzon family.

In the autumn of 1672, November 2, Bissot obtained in his turn a seigniorial domain in the neighborhood of Lauzon. This property consisting of seventy acres of frontage and a mile of depth was bordered on the east by the seigniority of Beaumont, which Talon granted on the same day to Couillard des Ilets de Beaumont. It is this seigniority acquired in 1672 by Bissot which has since carried the name of Vincennes. Bissot began clearing in 1670. November 24th of this same year he sold to Jean Poliquin four acres of frontage and forty acres of depth in a place called la Petite-Pêche. The brook of la Petite-Pêche crossed the ancient domain of Vincennes, already inhabited by the family Faucher de Saint-Maurice and had for a long time turned the wheel of an old community mill built by the seignior Joseph Roy, father-in-law of this Corpron, a partner of Bigot, who stored grain there when Quebec suffered a most dreadful famine.

Formerly Pont-Audemer, the ancestral town of Bissot, was noted for its maritime fisheries, and its fishers had no equal in the salting of herring. Bissot all the time he was cultivating his lands and clearing the forests of Canada wanted to exploit the immense resources of our great river. In the autumn of 1630 he formed a partnership with Simon Guyon, Courville, Lespinay, de Tilly and Godefroy to go after seals near Tadoussac. Beside fishing for seals the partners desired to attract the savages at Tadoussac and to trade there in beaver skins. Godefroy went to France to obtain the right of this fishery from the company and to associate M. Rozée for an eighth partner. Courville, Lespinay and Simon Guyon had made a voyage on the Saguenay in the month of October to enter into an alliance with the savages, and they had

brought back from this first excursion about three hundred beaver skins.

On the 4th of March, 1663, M. d'Avaugour leased the trading rights of Tadoussac for two years to François Bissot, la Tesserie, des Cartes, Le Gardeur, de Tilly, Desprès, Juchereau de la Ferté, Damours, Charron, Bourdon, Juchereau de Saint-Denis (Judgments et Deliberations du Conseil Souverain, t. 1. p. 11), but this lease was broken in the October following by M. de Mézy.

Bissot, seeing the kingdom of the Saguenay closed to him, directed his attention toward the desert regions of Labrador, where up to this time only the Spaniards in company with the Basques had dared to fish.

In the winter of 1661, on February 25th, Bissot obtained from the Company of New France the island aux Oeufs, situated below Tadoussac toward the Pellean mountains of the north coast about forty miles from Tadoussac, with the right of hunting and of establishing on the land in whatever place he would find most convenient still fishing for seal, whales, porpoises and other kinds of fish from the island aux Oeufs to Sept-Iles and in la Grande-Anse, in the country of the Esquimaux where the Spaniards were still fishing. He obtained at the same time the right to take, in these places, the woods and the land necessary to establish his estate there.

It is this island, so celebrated for the shipwreck of the fleet of the English admiral Walker, on which Bissot began to put down the foundations of his first establishment for still fishing. It is nothing but a sterile rock, barren of all vegetation, about three-quarters of a mile long. In the crevices of the granite rocks they built huts for the fishers.

Bissoa had first established himself on the island aux Oeufs in order to protect his property from the incursions

of the savage Esquimaux, the fiercest and most barbarous of men. Later he carried his settlement to the extreme end of the harbor of Mingan, and there constructed a little fort of logs. Bissot directed these distant developments from Quebec. Each spring his ships laden with outfits for fishing and merchandise for trading left the little capitol, and only returned once, when the season was finished.

During the year 1668 Bissot began a tannery on Point-Lévy, on the land which he had obtained in 1648 from the seignior de Lauzon. The brook which was the border line between the farms of Couture and of Bissot and which turned the wheel of the mill was damaged. A large wooden canal carried the water from it and took it to the tanning vats. The intendent Talon during the year 1668 increased the "denier" of the king to be employed in the construction of the buildings necessary to this new enterprise to a sum of 3,268 livres. This advance considerable for the time was later reimbursed in large part by the Bissot heirs.

The community to aid Bissot in his enterprise lent him besides a sum of 1,500 livres at ten per cent. interest. This tannery, the first which one could have seen in Canada, had a great success. Much was expected of it, and the first attempts succeeded perfectly. From the second year the profits realized surpassed all expectations.

Bissot had set going three projects: the cultivation of the land, fishing and the making of leather. All three kept pace with each other, and Bissot was in a way to make his fortune. The little hut which he had had built by Couture in the autumn of 1647 had disappeared long ago to make room for a long, comfortable house. Beautiful golden harvests covered the meadows. The mill wheel turned constantly on the little babbling brook. The land produced grain as if

by enchantment. The meadows of l'Etchemin furnished fertile pasturage. Down there on the heights of Cape Saint-Claude the seigniorship of Vincennes began to be populated. Each autumn on St. Martins day there was brought to the great white house hidden under the elms of Point-Lévy fat capons, eels and the quit rent money. The road which led to the Bissot dwelling became a sort of bridge d'Avignon where everyone had to pass to go to the river and to the town. A considerable business was also done there.

The development of the still fishing of Labrador went marvelously. This sort of industry was considered one of assured profits. Talon wrote, that it was so, to the king in 1671, informing him of the success of Bissot. The seal fishery exploited by Denis, Bissot and Riverin produced enough oil for local consumption and for exportation not only to France but to the Antilles. Talon, who wished to establish favorable relations with these colonies, sent them shipments of fish, of peas, of clap boards and of planks.

François Bissot de la Rivière died at Quebec on Sainte Annés day, July 26, 1673. He was buried in the cemetery of l'Hotel-Dieu.¹

CHARLES-FRANCOIS BISSOT.

(Uncle of François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes.)

Born at Quebec, February 5, 1664, of the marriage of François Bissot de la Rivière and Marie Couillard.

On November 3, 1672, M. Talon, intendant, granted to François Bissot de la Rivière for his sons Jean Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes and Charles-François Bissot (1), a fief of seventy acres of land fronting on a mile of depth along the

¹ J. Edmond Roy. *Francois Bissot, veïn de la Riviere*, pp. 31 et seq.

river St. Lawrence, from the land belonging to the Sieur de la Citiere to the land not yet conceded. This formed the fief or seigniorship of Vincennes.

On May 16, 1689, Charles-François Bissot, heir to an eighth in the succession from his father, sold to Etienne Charest, his brother-in-law, all that belonged to him and was to revert to him of the land, buildings, mills, and tannery of Point-Lévy. This sale was made for a thousand livres.

On March 5, 1694, Charles-François Bissot, heir to an eighth of the land situated on the river of the Etchemins, sold to Pierre Benac, his brother-in-law, the part and portion belonging to him and reverting to him in the said land of the river of the Etchemins. This sale was made for forty livres. M. Benac was, however, to pay the seigniorial due which might be charged to the said portion.

On March 21, 1695, Louis Marchand, part seignior of the seigniories of Vincennes and Mingan, granted to Charles-François Bissot, also part seignior of the seigniorship of Vincennes, dwelling on the coast of Lauzon, permission to carry on trade, traffic and business in the land and seigniorship of Mingan and dependant places as well as fishing for cod and other fish, for the space of three consecutive years beginning in the spring of 1695, and also for all the time that the said sieur Marchand should be absent from Quebec in the country of the Ottawas, where he intended going the following spring, in case that he should stay there longer than the said three years. In return, M. Bissot was to pay him for each year a sum of fifty livres.

On November 9, 1695, Charles-François Bissot, François Joseph Bissot, Louis Jolliet and Charles Jolliet formed a partnership for the space of five years to go to Mingan and carry on business on the property of the late François Bissot de

la Rivière from the island aux Oeufs to the Bay des Espagnols.

On April 25, 1697, Charles-François Bissot and the other heirs of François Bissot de la Rivière leased and farmed out the seigniory of Mingan to Louis Jolliet for five years. After the death of Louis Jolliet in 1700 Charles-François Bissot and François-Joseph Bissot formed a partnership with the sons of the discoverer to continue the enterprise at Mingan. In 1703 François Hazeur advanced a sum of four thousand livres to the partners in the business at Mingan to load the ship *Le Rosaire* with merchandise necessary for their business.

On May 9, 1705, Charles-François Bissot and Joseph Guion du Rouvray formed a partnership for eighteen months to exploit at a common profit and a half of the loss or profit the fief and seigniory of Port à Choix in the island of Newfoundland, belonging to M. Hazeur, councillor in the Sovereign Council. The partners were to carry on at Port à Choix traffic, trading with the savages and commerce in fish.

It was understood that Joseph Guion Rouvray was to spend the winter at Port à Choix with a man whom M. Bissot was to send him in his stead, while he returned with their ship to Quebec in the autumn of 1705 and to return in the spring of 1706. Since his haste and the lack of time did not allow M. Bissot to find the man in question, it was understood that Guion de Rouvray should spend the winter alone at Port à Choix with four hired men and a young boy. As compensation M. Guion de Rouvray was to be paid from the whole sum before it was divided an amount which should be decided by two of their friends.

The same day Charles-François Bissot and Joseph Guion de Rouvray acknowledged that they owed to François Bissot

and to François and Jean Jolliet the sum of 300 livres for the freightage of the merchandise, victuals and tools which they had loaded on the ship the Saint Rosaire belonging to them and sailing to Port à Choix. It was understood that the Saint Rosaire was to touch at Mingan on the way to Port à Choix. Charles François Bissot was, however, to take 60 pounds of these 300 livres to recompense himself for the pain and care which he would take in guiding the said ship.

This is the last known mention of Charles-François Bissot. As we have just seen he ought to have returned from Port à Choix in the spring of 1706. Did he die during this voyage? We are led to believe that he did, since on March 30, 1708, his brother François-Joseph Bissot and Joseph Guion de Rouvray formed a partnership to exploit a new settlement on the island of Newfoundland. His name does not figure in this partnership, in spite of the fact that since 1695 the two brothers had always been associated in all their enterprises.

JEAN-BAPTISTE BISSOT DE VINCENNES

(Father of François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes.)

Born at Quebec, January 19, 1668, of the marriage of François Bissot de la Rivière and Marie Couillard. He was baptized the 21st of the same month by M. Henry de Bernières, curé de Quebec. His godfather was M. Jean Talon, intendant of New France, and his godmother Guillemette-Marie Hébert, widow of Guillaume Couillard.

On November 3, 1672, the intendant Talon granted to François Bissot de la Rivière for his sons Jean Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes (godson of M. Talon) and ——— Bissot, seventy acres of land frontage, a mile of depth on the river

St. Lawrence from the land belonging to the Sieur de la Cité to the land not yet conceded in fief and seigniory. This is the fief or seigniory of Vincennes. This concession was made under the ordinary conditions; to bring faith and homage to the chateau St. Louis, at Quebec, to hold or cause to be held faith and place, to preserve the oak woods suitable for the construction of vessels, to give information concerning the mines and minerals and to leave open roads necessary for passage, etc., etc., M. Talon declared that he granted this seigniory to M. Bissot de la Rivière to give to his son Jean Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes and ——— Bissot more opportunity for establishing themselves.*

On November 10, 1676, Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes entered the seminary at Quebec to pursue his education there. The archives of the seminary say in regard to him: "not being fit for the ecclesiastical state, he left November 18, 1680." The seminary of Quebec was obliged to sue the guardian of the young Bissot de Vincennes in order to be paid the price of his board and lodging. October 19, 1682, correcting a judgment of the Provost of Quebec, the Sovereign Council ordered Louis Jolliet, guardian of Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes to pay to the seminary of Quebec two years and a half of board at the rate of 230 livres a year and eighteen months at the rate of 150 livres a year.

On October 20, 1687, Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes showed to the Sovereign Council that, having reached the age of twenty years, and being on the point of going to France for a situation, it was necessary for him to have the government of his own property. He asked them to grant him his letters of the right of majority. The Sovereign Council ordered immediately the relatives of the young Bissot, paternal

**Pieces et Documents Relatifs a La Tenure Seigneuriale*, p. 297.

as well as maternal, to meet before the lieutenant general of the provost court to decide if he was capable of controlling and administering his property.*

What was this employment that Jean- Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes went to seek in France? The ambition of the sons of good family under the French régime was to serve as officers in the troops of the detachment of marines. In 1687 our old friend the intendant Talon held a place of confidence at court. We have no written proof of it, but is it not reasonable to presume that the young Bissot went to France to obtain the high influence of his godfather to enter the army?

On October 25, 1694, Jean-Baptiste Bissot sold to Louis Marchand all the rights which he might have in the land and seigniori of Mingan, not only his share in his father's estate, the late François Bissot de la Rivière, of whom he was an eighth heir, but also that which he might have later after the death of his mother, plus the free half in the land and seigniori of Vincennes. This sale was made under the charge of rights and duties under which things sold could be charged for the future and the price of 2,500 livres which the purchaser Marchand promised to pay, 1,000 livres in one year, 1,000 in two years and 500 in three years.*

On March 21, 1695, Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes, eighth part heir in the succession of the late François Bissot de la Rivière, his father, sold to Etienne Charest, his brother-in-law, all that belonged and reverted to him in the land,

*Jugements Et Deliberations Du Conseil Souverain, vol. 111, p. 189.

*Acte de Chambalon, October 25, 1694. There was evidently a subsequent transaction between Louis Marchand and Jean-Baptiste Bissot, since the latter remained in possession of the seigniori of Vincennes, and since 15 years later, July 10, 1709, he sold his rights in the seigniori of Mingan to Francois Bissonnet, wig maker of Montreal.

Lauzon. M. Bissot de Vincennes reserved for himself only buildings, mill and tannery of Point Levy and on the coast of the part which belonged to him in the seven islands and the land along the river of the Etchemins. This sale was made under the charge of the quit rent, the rents and the seignioral rights under which things sold could be charged toward the seignior of the place, and to acquit the seller of the standing debts of the succession of his father that could be claimed from him. M. Charest paid him moreover a sum of 500 livres.* The act of sale called M. Jean-Baptiste Bissot de

*Acte de Genaple, 21 Mars, 1695.

Vincennes "ensign in the detachment of the Marine in this country."

In 1696 the military authorities of the colony gave to the minister their opinion about the officers who served in the troops of the detachment of the Marine. M. de Vincennes was sub-ensign and the postscript "Good Officer" was added to his name.†

The governor of Frontenac had always been of the opinion that the best means of making the tribes of the west fight against the Iroquois was to keep up garrisons at Michilimackinac and at the posts which were dependent on it. He wrote to the minister if these garrisons are deserted, it will be impossible to control these tribes. In September, 1696, the ambassadors of the different tribes of the west met M. de Frontenac at Quebec. He spoke to the delegates of each one of these tribes through interpreters and dismissed them saying to them: "I do not at all wish that you should return to your home empty handed. Here are guns, powder and balls which I give you. Make good use of them. They are not for slaying beef and the roe buck, but they are to kill the Iroquois

†L'abbé Daniel, *Aperçu Sur Quelques Contemporains*, p. 44.

who lack much more than you powder and lead. Remember that there is nothing but war which can make true men noteworthy, and war it is which brings it about that I recognize you by your name. Nothing pleases me so much as to see the face of a warrior. This is what I give you. You can go when you will."

Then profiting by the favorable disposition of the tribe, a little later M. de Frontenac sent M. d'Ailleboust d'Argenteuill to Michilimakinac and M. de Vincennes to the Miamis. The latter was to command the latter post.* M. de Vincennes received thus his first command, but it is evident that he had already made several journeys among the Miamis and that he had even lived for a time among them.

On November 14, 1704, M. de Ramezay, governor of Montreal, wrote to minister Pontchartrain: "There is reason to presume that the Sr. de Vincennes, petty officer, who was sent this summer to the Miamis by way of the Detroit river with three canoes laden with merchandise and brandy under the pretext of going to patch up the quarrels of the savages, and of others there which had been settled by M. de la Mothe, spoke of the same disorders. Whereas Sr. Rabiston, who descended from Detroit with fifteen men met the said Sr. de Vincennes ten miles from Montreal, and who on his arrival informed M. de Vaudreuil that he carried more than four hundred jugs of brandy, of which he made a great boast. It would have been easy to remedy this if the Sr. de Vincennes had exceded his orders. He only had to send a canoe to look for him which could have reached him in a day since the Sr. de Vincennes was at the bottom of a cedar-covered hill, where it was necessary to make portages of everything that was in

*De la Potherie, *Histoire De L'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. 111, p. 309.

the canoes, which brought it about that he could not advance. But instead of going to the source to prevent his wrong doing he contended himself by feigning to be very angry. Since this affair caused much comment he said publicly that he would have him punished on his return. You will notice, Monseigneur, if you please, that brandy sells at Michilimakinac for forty and fifty francs a jug; Vincennes would therefore thus have gained 20,000 livres or 10,000 ecus. He ran little risk of losing his rank of petty officer in a place where little was heard of the court. Since M. de Vaudreuil's administration may be extremely prejudicial to the colony it is none the less so for the government. One might almost say that there will be no more peace. The Jesuits have refound their kingdom.*

On November 14, 1704, M. de Lamothe-Cadillac sent to Minister Pontchartrain a memoir on the establishment of Detroit. Lamothe-Cadillac used the method of question and answer. The minister was supposed to inquire and Lamothe-Cadillac replied. In spite of its interest this memoir is too long to be reproduced here in its entirety. We will content ourselves in taking out of it the passages which relate to M. de Vincennes.

"Answer. It is easy to see, Monseigneur, that you wish to be instructed. I admire your patience which never tires concerning that which relates to the service of the king. If that which I have had the honor to relate to you merits any attention the things of which you are about to be informed deserve all your attention. This now is the very plan which has been made to destroy Detroit, however I would not dare go on if you did not order me to do it.

"Question. You may do it and count on my protection

*Archives du Canada, Correspondence Generale, Vol. 22.

provided only that you make no false accusation and do not alter the truth in any respect.

"Answer. I never depart from that principle. I have never had any patron saint other than the truth itself, and I have such great confidence in her that I believe myself invincible as long as I fight under her standards. I am about then to expose to you the facts on which you can draw whatever conclusions please you. The public has drawn its own."

Then M. de Lamothe-Cadillac speaks of M. de Tonty, of M. d'Ailleboust de Manthet and of M. de la Decouvert. He then goes on to M. de Vincennes.

"The fourth case is that the Sieur de Vincennes was sent to the Miamis with an order to go to Detroit, being sent to Sr. de Tonty, the said Sr. de Vincennes having three canoes laden with merchandise and more than four hundred jugs of brandy, under the pretext of going to terminate the war begun by the Miamis-Ouyatatanon against the nations settled at Detroit and against the Iroquois. Observation on the fourth act.

This quarrel being settled both M. the Governor General and the intendant were informed that it was not natural to send ensigns to settle the differences between nations in a post where there was a commandant named by the court. That is why, there being a question about the sending of Sr. de Vincennes, he told me that M the Governor General had his share in the merchandise which he was carrying. I declared to him as I talked to him that he had replied to me that he would discharge him because he had not permitted him to take more than two canoes.

The twelfth fact is that the Sr. de Vincennes was actually at Detroit with four hundred jugs of brandy where he had a cabaret, having been the precursor of M. de Louvigny, major

of Quebec, brother-in-law of de Lino superintendent de Nolan, a dishonest clerk, a relative of Chatellereau, another clerk of Detroit and the Cr. de Louvigny who was himself convicted of having disobeyed the order of the king by an arrest of the council. The said Sr. de Vincennes has also been precursor of Sr. Vincelot a sub-delegate of M. l'Intendent, who informed me that in spite of my order not only had brandy not been spared to corrupt the savages but they had not done what they had been desired to do. This pretended sub-delegate was a first cousin of Seignior Pinaud who is my partner and belonging to a race of which I have already spoken.*

November 16, 1704, M. de Vaudreuil wrote to Minister Pontchartrain: "I know Mgr. that your intention and the welfare of the service of the king demands that neutrality with the Iroquois nations be maintained as much as is possible. I dare moreover to assure you that I give to it every care, and that I moreover dare to hope to succeed in spite of all the efforts which the English are making to embroil them with us, having found the secret of persuading the upper nations, our allies, to begin war with them in order to oblige us to declare ourselves and to take part. Since this affair is of the utmost importance, we have believed, Sr. de Beauharnois and I, that we ought not to neglect anything which would arrest the consequences of it, and following this plan we have had the honor to inform you in our common letter that we sent Sr. Vaillant and Sr. de Jonquaire to the Sonnontouans, and that I sent Sr. Vincennes to the Miamis, to whom I gave my orders and speeches to make to them for me. Sr. de Vincennes was formerly commandant among the Miamis by

*Archives du Canada, Correspondance generale, vol 22; O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, vol. IX, p. 759.

whom he was very much loved; for this reason I chose him in preference to another to make this nation realize the wrong they had done in attacking the Iroquois, our allies and theirs, without any other object. We permitted, Sr. de Beauharnois and I, the Sr. de Vincennes to take with him certain goods and six men and two canoes to make more speed.

Sr. de Lamothe coming from Detroit informed us that he had met Sr. de Vincennes with three canoes and two men in addition. This disobedience to the orders which I had given him made me decide immediately to punish him, and since he is a petty officer in the troops I resolved to discharge him, and even asked M. the intendant to obtain some information on the advice which had been given us. I still remain Mgr., of this opinion, if the generous action which he has just done in Detroit and of which we told you in our letter does not oblige me to write to you in his favor and demand grace for him."

Speech of the Marquis de Vaudreuil sent to the Miamis of the river St. Joseph through the agency of M. de Vincennes:

"1. I arrive here, my brothers, to represent your father, to tell you that he is surprised that the Miamis, whom he regarded as the most obedient of his children, have disobeyed his orders. Tell me then, are you drunk; have you lost your mind?

"Ought you not to remember what we said when we made a general peace with all the nations, that in the future you would hunt peaceably, and that you would take the Iroquois for your brothers, and that you would have but one fire, one dish, one belt, one knife, and that you would drink together the same soup every time that you met? You have however broken your word; you have reddened the earth with the blood

of the Iroquois. I come then to demand of you why you have broken your word, since he received you so well last winter in his hunting cabins.

"2. I know, my brothers, that you received the first blow, but you knew well enough that it was not the Iroquois who had struck, but those brothers of the wolves, the English, and when the Iroquois had struck you you ought to have come to complain as you had all decided. You ought to have imitated the Iroquois who allowed themselves to be struck by you without defending themselves, and were content to carry their complaint to their father Onontio.

"3. I come to bring back to you the mind which you have lost and to show you your own interests. In order to appease your father, begin by sending me instantly all the Iroquois prisoners which are with your nation, and above all those which were taken last winter.

"4. Take also the necessary measures to satisfy your brother the Iroquois. He has a right to complain of you, and you know well enough the wrong which you have done. Do it in such a way that I may hear no more talk about it, because I cannot be prevented from executing the terms of the peace which you ought to remember. Reflect on this speech."*

Nov. 17, 1704, MM. de Vaudreuil and de Beauharnois wrote to Minister Pontchartrain: "The neutrality of the Iroquois being, Mgr., the subject in this country, to which we ought to give the closest attention, in order to preserve tranquility, we have believed that we ought to neglect nothing in order to content these nations and to hold them in our interest. Since the Tsonnontouans seemed to us the most devoted to the French we judged it fitting to send to them Sr.

*Archives du Canada, Correspondance, generale, vol. 22.

de Jonquaire and Father Vaillant. Sr. de Vaudreuil detached Sr. de Vincennes, officer, who had formerly been in command of the Miamis, and by whom he was still loved, to find out the reasons they had had for attacking the Tsonnontouans, our allies and theirs, and to make them give to the latter the satisfaction which was their due. * * *

“Sr. Tonty, Mgr., who is in command at Detroit in the absence of Sr. de Lamothe, advised us four days ago that a Ottawa chief named Campanie who had taken out the party against the Iroquois at Missilimakinac and who had made the prisoners which he had taken from the Iroquois, and that attack on Fort Frontenac had passed his fort with six he had even had the effrontery to give the death-cry outside the fort with the apparent design of causing the savages who are of his nation to declare themselves for him. Sr. de Tonty realizing the slight which he was putting the French by this action, and knowing moreover our intentions judged it proper, Mgr., to send Sr. de Vincennes to this savage, the same man whom Sr. de Vaudreuil had detached to go to the Miamis in order to settle the war which had just been kindled between these two nations. He at the head of twenty Frenchmen brought back four of their prisoners, although almost thirty Ottawas from the fort had gone there to take the part of their people. Sr. de Tonty received the two others the next day and this affair was more advantageous to us because without counting our obligations to the Iroquois it made all the nations realize that we could not allow anyone to mistreat our allies in our presence. In addition to the fact that at the same time there were at Detroit some Miamis who had come to take back three of their prisoners, as the Sr. de Vaudreuil had commanded them, and to whom it was of consequence to make known that they were not the only ones whom we obliged to make satisfaction.

"The action of the Sr. de Vincennes seems so fine that in spite of the advice which had been given to Sr. de Vaudreuil and de Beauharnois that he had disobeyed the orders written in his pass-port, and concerning whom Sr. de Vaudreuil had begged Sr. de Beauharnois to get information before forming himself the resolution to take from him on his return the rank of petty officer which had been bestowed upon him. They could not but see the need they had of him on account of the influence which he had over the minds of the savage Miamis, the services which he had rendered and the deed which he had just done. They must show you, Mgr., that they hope that you will approve their intention of pardoning him."

October 19, 1705, Governor de Vaudreuil wrote to the minister: "I had the honor last year of bringing to your attention the fact that I regarded the continuation of peace with the Iroquois as the principal affair of this country, and since it is on this principle that I have always worked, it is also this which obliged me to send Sr. Jonquaire to the Tsonnon-touans, Sr. de Vincennes to the Miamis, and which obliged me last spring to send Sr. de Louvigny to Missilimakinac to bring back from there prisoners which these savages had taken from the Iroquois at Fort Frontenac in the autumn. * * *

"The Iroquois chiefs arrived at Montreal about the beginning of August and staid there until the 14th, when, having no news, I resolved to send them away and to send them back their prisoners for this purpose. * * *

"The Iroquois started to return to their country when Sr. de Vincennes arrived and told me that he had come down with one of the chiefs of Missilimakinac who was sending him ahead to find out if they could appear before me in order that they might confess their shortcomings, and detail the

manner in which they pretended to give satisfaction to the Iroquois. The speeches of the one and the others with my reply will give you information of all that passed at Montreal during their stay until they went away entirely content, after I had given them all a banquet to renew their ancient alliance. It gave me indeed a veritable satisfaction to have accomplished your orders."

June 9, 1705, the minister blamed M. de Vaudreuil severely for having sent M. de Vincennes among the Miamis and M. de Louvigny to Missilimakinac, since both of them carried on commerce openly. M. de Louvigny, said the minister, had been punished, and M. de Vincennes ought to be likewise. Far from doing it they had kept in a dungeon for six months the man named Neveu, who had denounced him.*

June 17, 1705, the king had a letter written to M. de Vaudreuil: "His majesty has seen what he has written on the subject of the Sr. de Vincennes. His majesty desires that in consideration of the good action which he has done in rescuing the Iroquois from the hands of the Ottawas who had taken them prisoner, that they pardon the offense which he committed in carrying brandy in defiance of Sr. de Vaudreuil on the voyage which he had made at his orders to the Miami."

June 9, 1706, Minister de Pontchartrain wrote to M. de Vaudreuil: "The acknowledgment which you make of having permitted Srs. de Manthet, de la Decouverte and Vincennes to take with them some merchandise on the voyages which they gave made for you in the upper country is sufficient to have given reason to the belief that they have carried on commerce, above all, the said Sr. de la Decouverte, who is

*Edouard Richard, *Supplement du Rapport du Dr. Brymner sur les Archives Canadiennes*, 1899, p. 375.

an arrant traitor. Therefore, I beg of you to refrain as much as you can from sending him into this country, since the service demands absolutely that you choose for sending there people of whose fidelity you are sure."

June 30, 1707, Minister Pontchartrain finding that without doubt M. de Vincennes had been sufficiently punished, wrote to M. de Vaudreuil to reestablish him in his duties: "I have seen that to which you call my attention in relation to the subject of the commerce which it is pretended that the Srs. de Louvigny and de Vincennes have carried on among the Miamis and the Missillimakinacs. I hope that what I have written to you about it will cause you to give more attention to the conduct of those whom you send to distant posts, and that his majesty will receive no more complaints about their trading. His majesty desires that you reestablish Vincennes in his duties of petty ensign which you have taken away from him.*

July 10, 1709, Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes sold to François Bissonnet, merchant wig maker, living at Montreal, the part and contingent portions reverting to him in the entire extent of the concession belonging to his father and mother situated on the river St. Lawrence, from l'Ile aux Oeufs to Blanc-Sablons, with all the islands of Mingan and others contained in all of the said extent. This sale was made under the charges and reversions which this portion of the concession could owe to the king at each change of ownership, and for the sum of 150 livres.

In 1712 the Foxes formed a plot with the Five Nations and the English to drive the French from Detroit. The Mascoutins and Kikapous were also of the party. M. de Du Buisson commanded at Detroit replacing M. de La Forest, successor to M. Lamonthé-Cadillac, retained at Quebec. This

*Archives du Canada, Serie B. 29, 1.

officer was brave and experienced, but he had under his order only thirty French; and to crown the disaster, the Ottawas and the Hurons, their intimate friends at Detroit, had not yet returned from their hunting expedition. The situation was critical. On May 13, 1712, M. de Vincennes arrived at Detroit from among the Miamis. He was a powerful aid to M. Du Buisson. The two brave officers conquered the Foxes, but after much weariness and prodigies of valor on the part of the little garrison under their orders. In a letter dated Detroit, June 15, 1712, M. Du Buisson relates the whole event to M. de Vaudreuil.

“As I have believed that it was of great consequence to inform you of the state of this post, by a canoe, as quickly as possible. I have requested M. de Vincennes to make this voyage, having assured him that this would be pleasing to you, persuaded, as I am Mgr., that you are very solicitous to know what goes on here. The fatigue I undergo day and night in consequence of the public and private councils that I hold with the Indians preventing me from sending you a detailed account of all the circumstances. M. de Vincennes has promised to forget nothing which has passed in order to communicate it all to you.

“The destruction of two Mascoutin and Outagamie villages is one of the principal reasons which induces me to send this canoe. God has permitted these two audacious nations to perish. They had received many presents and some belts from the English to destroy the post of Fort Pontchartrain, to cut our throats and those of some of our allies, of whom the Hurons and Ottawas lived on the Detroit river. Then these wretches were to go back among the English and to devote themselves to them in order to continually to do harm. It is said that the band of Quinetouan and that of Makate-

mangouas have been received among the Iroquois and have established a village among them. This information has been brought by three canoes of Ottagamies who have been defeated by the Chippeways, within four leagues of this post. I fear much for the safety of M. de Laforest, because being no doubt upon his march to this place, he may fall in with some of these bands of the hostile Ottagamies who have joined the Iroquois. The band of the great chief, Lamyma and that of the grand chief Pemoussa came early in the spring and encamped, in spite of my opposition, about fifty paces from my fort, never willing to listen to me, speaking always with much insolence and calling themselves the masters of all this country. It was necessary for me to be very mild having as you know, M., but thirty Frenchmen with me, and wishing to keep with me eight of the Miamis who were with M. de Vincennes, and also to sow our grain and pasture our cattle. Besides, the Ottawas and Hurons had not come in from their winter hunt. I was thus exposed every day to a million insults. The fowls, pigeons and other animals belonging to the French were killed without their daring to say a word, and for myself I was in no condition openly to declare my intentions. One of them entered my fort to stab one of the inhabitants named la Jeunesse and a grown daughter of Roy, another inhabitant. I could then no longer restrain myself, but took arms to prevent their accomplishing their wicked intention. I compelled them to retire immediately, in order not to give them time to increase their party, since they also were waiting for the Kickapoos, their allies, that they might together execute their nefarious project and be strong enough to retire, fearing nothing, to the English and Iroquois. These wretches waited but for a favorable moment to set fire to the fort and to over-power us. It was an entirely different matter when

they learned that the Mascoutins who had wintered on the headwaters of the St. Joseph had been killed, to the number of 150 souls, mens, women and children, by Saguisma, a war chief of the Ottowas and Pottawatamies. They immediately determined to set fire to an Ottawa cabin which was near the gate of my fort. I was informed of their intention by an Ottagami Indian named Joseph, who long since left his people and devoted himself entirely to the French. It was from him I learned all that passed in the village of the Ottagamies and the Mascoutins. He had the honor to be presented to you, M., last year at Montreal. He informed me also that I was to be burned in my own fort, and I immediately sent a French canoe to the winter hunting ground of the Ottawas and the Hurons to request them to hasten and come to join me. I sent also another canoe to the other side of the lake to invite the Chippaways, the Mississagues and the Amiquois to join my party.

The church and M. Mallet's house were outside the fort, and all the grain supply of our savages was stored there. The contrary winds which blew all the time prevented all the savages who were our allies from arriving, which troubled me much, as I felt myself hard pressed. I encouraged the few Frenchmen who were with me immediately to bring the wheat into the fort. And it was well we did so, for two days later I would have had no supplies except for the moment, and it would have been necessary to skirmish in order to take possession of it, and much of it would even have been pillaged from us. The most important thing was to pull down as quickly as possible the church, the storehouse and some other houses which were near my fort, and so close that the enemy could have succeeded in setting fire to the fort whenever they wanted to. And besides it was important to clear the place in order

to defend ourselves in case of an attack which very soon took place. We must return a thousand thanks to the Lord. We should have been lost if I had not formed this intention. I put on the best countenance I could, encouraging the French, who were in consternation, believing themselves surely lost. The fear I entertained, that some accident might happen to the French who had not yet arrived and the necessity of sowing our grain and pasturing our cattle, prevented me from refusing them permission to enter my fort to trade, for fear they should suspect that I knew their pernicious object. The only thing I could do was to tell them that I apprehended that the Miamis, who knew that I permitted them to remain so near, would make war upon me, and therefore I was about to repair my fort. They did not appear to give much credit to my assertions.

It was necessary to fire our guns occasionally in order to get some logs which were outside the fort and of which they had taken possession. I set about, as quickly as possible, to repair the fort, with those which I succeeded in taking away from them. And I succeeded in strengthening it perfectly well with material from the houses. I employed a ruse to obtain possession of a pigeon-house which they wished to keep, which might have given us much trouble and caused us much loss of life. I placed it immediately opposite their fort and pierced it with loop holes. I mounted two swivels on two great logs of wood to serve as cannon in case of necessity.

The 13th of May, While I was impatiently waiting the arrival of my allies, whom I had sent out to find, who were the only aid I could expect, M. de Vincennes, arrived from among the Miamis with seven or eight Frenchmen. He brought me no news of the savages whom I was awaiting, which gave me much trouble, as I now did not know on what Saint to call.

But heaven watched over our preservation, and when I least expected it there entered a Huron all breathless who said to me: "My father, I ask to speak to you in secret. I am sent to you by our old men." There were then in their villages but seven or eight men, it seems that everything which happened was miraculous, for all the others, arrived two hours afterwards and the Ottawas also. The messenger said "God has pity on you. He desires that your enemies and ours should perish. I bring you news that four men have just arrived at our fort, not daring to enter yours on account of the Ottagamies and Mascoutins who surround you. Makisabie, war chief of the Pottawatamies the brother of Tekamasinon and two others desire to speak to you. I begged M. de Vincennes to meet them and he recognized the four Indians. He came an hour later to reply to me and told me on the part of Makisabie that 600 men would soon arrive to aid me, and to eat those miserable nations who had troubled all the country. That it was necessary to keep myself on guard against being surprised by the Ottagamies and Mascoutins who might learn of the arrival of this assistance.

I begged M. de Vincennes to return to the Huron fort and to find out from Makisabie if he could not find means to satisfy himself with driving away the Mascoutins and the Ottagamies and compelling them to return to their former villages which was, Monsieur, your intention. But this could not be done, for the Hurons were too much enraged. This great affair had been too well concerted during the whole autumn and winter with all the nations, and presents had been given. M. de Vincennes perceiving that it would only irritate the Hurons to speak of a reconciliation, dropped the subject, the more readily as they said these wicked men had never kept their word. We could only then be silent and put the best face

on the affair, while we fought with them against our common enemy. The Hurons even reproached us with being tired of living, since we knew the bad intentions of the Ottagamies and the Mascoutins. They said it was absolutely necessary to destroy them and to extinguish their fire, and it was your intention they should perish. They knew your views on this subject at Montreal.

M. de Vincennes returned and told me it was useless to talk of any reconciliation. And in truth I well knew that it was a cause for fear to have so many nations around us of whose good intentions we were not certain. I therefore closed the gates of the fort and divided my few Frenchman into four brigades, each having its brigadier. I inspected their arms and amunition, and assigned them their stations on the bastions. I put four of them into the redoubt I have just constructed. I placed some of them at the two curtains where there was the most to fear, armed with drawn swords. My two cannon were all ready with slugs of iron prepared to load them, which had been made ready by the blacksmith. Our reverend father, on his side, bestirred himself, holding himself ready to give a general absolution in case of need, and to succor the wounded if perchance there should be any. He communicated also the Sacred Host.

Every arrangement being made and while we were waiting with impatience I was informed that there were many people in sight. I immediately ascended a bastion and casting my eyes toward the woods I saw the army of the nations of the South coming from that direction. They were the Illinois, the Missouris, the Osages and other nations still more remote. There were also with them the Ottawa chief, Saguima, and also the Potawatamies, the Saks, and some Menomenies. Detroit never saw so many people. It is surprising how much

all these nations are angered against the Mascoutins and the Ottagamies. This army marched in good order, with as many flags as there were different nations, and it proceeded directly to the fort of the Hurons, who said to the head chief of this army "You must not encamp. Affairs are too pressing. We must enter immediately into our father's fort and fight for him. Since he has always had pity on us and since he loves us, we ought to die for him. Do you not see that smoke also? There are three women of your village, Saguima, who are burning there, and your wife is among them." Not another word was necessary. There arose a great cry and at the same time they all began to run headlong. The Hurons and the Ottawas of this place at their head. The Ottagamies and Mascoutins raised also their war cry and about forty of them rushed from their fort all naked and painted, brandishing their arms in every direction to meet our men and defying them in order to make them believe that they feared them not at all. They were obliged however to retreat immediately and to return to their village. Our Indians asked my permission to enter my fort, which I granted, seeing that they were much excited. It was my plan to have them encamp near the woods, that they might not be troublesome. All the Indian chiefs assembled on the parade ground of my fort and spoke to me as follows :

"My father, I speak to you on the part of all the nations your children who are before you. What you did last year in drawing their flesh from the fire, which the Ottagamies were about to roast and eat, well merits that we should bring you our bodies, to make you master of them and to do all that you wish. We do not fear death, when it is necessary to die for you. We only beg that you pray the father of all nations to have pity on our women and children, in case we lose our life with you. We beg that you throw a blade of grass

upon our bones to protect them from the flies. You see, my father, that we have left our villages, our women and our children to come as quickly as possible to join you. We hope that you will have pity on us, that you will give us something to eat and a little tobacco to smoke. We have come from a distance and are destitute of everything. We hope that you will give us powder and balls to fight with you. We don't make a great speech. We perceive that we fatigue you and the French by the ardor which you show for the fight."

I immediately answered them briefly: "I thank you my children; the desire which you have to come and offer to die with me is very agreeable to me and causes me much pleasure, I recognize you as true children of the governor. I shall not fail to render him an account of all you have done for me today. You need not doubt that when any question respecting your interests arises he will busy himself about it with much ardor. I receive orders from him constantly to watch continually for the preservation of his children. With regard to your needs, I know that you want everything. The fire which has just taken place is unlucky for you as well as for we; I will, however, do all I can to provide you with what is most necessary. I invite you to live in peace, union and good will together as well among your different nations as with my Frenchmen. This will be the best means of enabling us entirely to defeat our common enemies. Take courage then. Repair your tomahawks, your bows and your arrows and especially your guns. I shall presently distribute powder and balls among you, and then we will attack our enemies. This is all I have to say to you."

All the Indians uttered a loud cry of joy and of thanks, saying: "Our enemies are dead from the present moment. The heavens begin to grow clear and the Master of Life has pity on us."

All the old men made harangues throughout the entire fort to encourage the warriors, telling them to listen well to my words and to obey me in all the manoeuvres that I was about to have them perform. I distributed immediately powder and ball among them and then we all together raised the war cry. The very earth trembled. The enemy, who were not more than a pistol shot away, raised also their war cry. At the same time the guns were immediately discharged on both sides and the balls flew like hail. We had to do as our Indians did, in order to encourage them. The powder and balls which you had the goodness to send us last autumn did not last long. I was obliged to have recourse to the three barrels that M. de Lamothe left with a certain Roy to sell, leaving me not a single grain when he went away for the defense of the fort in case of an attack. All mine was exhausted, which had gone but a little way, as well as a quantity which I had been obliged to purchase from some of the French people.

I held the Ottagamies and the Mascoutins in a state of siege during nineteen days, wearing them out by a continual fire night and day. In order to avoid our fire they were obliged to dig holes four or five feet deep in the ground and to shelter themselves there. I had erected two large scaffolds twenty feet high the better to fire into their villages. They could not go out for water. Hunger and thirst exhausted them. I had from four to five hundred men who blockaded their village, day and night, so that no one could go out to seek assistance. All of our Indians went to hide at the edge of the wood whence they continually returned with prisoners who were coming to join their people not knowing they were besieged. Their pastime was to shoot them or to fire arrows at them and burn them.

The enemy which I had held besieged, thinking to intimidate me and by this means to oblige me to leave the field open to them, covered their palisades with scarlet blankets and then shouted to me that they wished that the earth was all covered with blood. These red blankets were the mark of it. They hoisted twelve red blankets as standards in twelve different places of their village. I well knew that these signals were English, and they fought for them. This indeed they shouted to me, speaking from one fort to the other. They said they had no father but the English, and told all the nations, our allies, that they would do much better to quit our side and join theirs.

The great war chief of the Pottawatamies after having asked my advice and permission, mounted one of my scaffolds and spoke to our enemies in the name of all our nations in these words: "Wicked nations that you are; you hope to frighten us by all that red color which you show in your village. Learn that if the earth is covered with blood, it will be with yours. You speak to us of the English. They are the cause of your destruction, because you have listened to their bad council. They are the enemies of prayer, and it is for that reason that the Master of Life chastises them as well as you, wicked men that you are. Don't you know as well as we do that the Father of all the nations, who is at Montreal, sends continually parties of his children against the English to make war upon them, and that they take so many prisoners that they do not know where to put them? These English who are cowards only defend themselves secretly by killing men by that wicked drink brandy, which has caused so many men to die immediately after drinking it. Thus we shall see what will happen to you too for having listened to their words."

I was obliged to stop this conversation perceiving that the enemy had asked my permission to speak only to divert us and to have a little time to go for water. Thirst distressed them much. I ordered our great fire to recommence, which was so violent that we killed more than thirty men and some women who had secretly gone out for water. I lost, that day in my fort, twelve men, who were killed by our enemies. In spite of me, the enemy had taken possession of a house, where they had erected a scaffold, behind the gable-end which was made of earth. Our rifle balls could not penetrate this defense and thus every day some of our people were killed. This obliged me to raise upon one of my scaffolds the two large logs upon which were mounted my swivels. I loaded them with slugs and caused them to be fired upon the gable-end which troubled me so much. The first two discharges carried so successfully that we heard the scaffold which they had built back of the gable fall in ruins and some of the enemy were killed there. They were so frightened by this shooting of the cannon that we heard them utter cries and frightful groans, and toward evening they called out to beg that I would allow them to come and speak to me. Immediately I assembled the chiefs of the nations who were with me to find out their opinion, and we all agreed that we ought to let them come, in order by some statagem, to try and withdraw from their hands three women of our people whom they had made prisoners some days before the seige, one of whom was the wife of the great chief Saguima. I shouted to them through my interpreter that they might come in safety to speak to me, as I was perfectly willing to give them that satisfaction before they died.

They did not fail the next morning to come. We were very much surprised not to see their red flags in the village,

but only a white one. The great chief Pemoussa was the head of this first embassy. He came out of his village with two other savages, a white flag in his hand. I sent my interpreter to bring him to me and to protect him from insult from any young warrior. He entered my fort. I placed him in the middle of the parade-ground and then I assembled all the chiefs of the nations, who were with me, to hear all together. The ambassador spoke in these words, presenting a belt of wampum and two slaves: "My father I am dead. I see very well that heaven is clear and beautiful for you alone, and that for me it is all dark. When I left my village I hoped that you would listen to me. I beg of you, my father, by this belt which I lay at your feet, that you have pity on your children, and that you do not refuse them the two days, that they ask you, in which there shall be no firing on either side, that our old men may hold a council to find means of softening your spirit. It is to you that I now speak, you other children obeying the word of our father. This belt is to pray you to remember that you are our kindred. If you shed our blood, remember that it is also your own. I pray you to soften the heart of our father, whom we have so often angered. These two slaves are to replace, perhaps, a little blood which you may have lost. I speak to you only these few words until our old men take council together, if you grant us the two days that I ask of you."

This, Monsieur, is what I replied to him: "If your hearts were a little moved and if you truly considered the governor as your father you would have begun by bringing to me the three women whom you hold as prisoners. Not having done this, I believe your hearts are still bad. If you wish that I listen to you, begin by bringing them to me. This is all I have to say."

All the chiefs who were with me cried aloud: "My father, after what you have just said we have nothing to reply to this ambassador. Let him obey you if he wishes to live."

The ambassador replied: "I am only a child; I shall return to my village to render an account to our old men."

Thus finishing the council, I gave him three or four Frenchmen to take him back, assuring him that we would not fire during the entire day, as their old men had requested, on condition that no one should leave the village to seek water, and if any one saw them do it the truce should be at an end and we would fire upon them immediately.

Two hours after two Mascoutin chiefs and a third, an Ottagami, came, flag in hand, with the three women in question. I made them enter the same place that the first had entered, where were assembled all our savage chiefs. These three messengers spoke as follows: "My father, here are these three morsels of flesh you ask of us. We have not eaten them, thinking you would call us to account for it. Do what you please with them. You are the master. Now we, the Mascoutins and the Ottagamies, beg that you cause all the nations who are with you to retire in order that we be free to seek provisions for our women and children. Many die every day of hunger and of distress. All our village regrets that we have angered you. If you are as good a father as all your children, who are around you say you are, you will not refuse the favor we ask of you."

Since I had the three women whom I asked, I did not care longer to parley with them; I therefore answered: "If you had eaten my flesh, which you have brought to me, you would not be living at this moment. You would have felt such terrible blows that they would have forced you into the earth so deep that no one would any longer speak of

you. So true is it that I love the flesh of the father of all the nations. With regard to the liberty which you demand of me, I leave it to my children to answer you. Therefore I speak no more."

The head chief of the Illinois, whose name is Makouandeby, was appointed by the chiefs of the other nations to speak in these words: "My father, we thank you for all your kindness to us. We thank you for it, and since you give us permission to speak, we shall do so."

And then, addressing the hostile chiefs, he said: "Now listen to me, ye nations who have troubled all the earth. We well see, in all your words, that you seek only to surprise our father and to deceive him again, in asking that he would cause us to retire. We should no sooner do so than you would again torment our father. You would inevitably shed his blood. You are dogs who have always bitten him. You have never been sensible to the favors which you have received from all the French. You have believed, wretches that you are, that we did not know all the commands you have received from the English, to cut the throats of our father, and of his children here, and then to lead the English into this country. Go away then. For us we will not stir a step; we wish to die with our father; and if he should tell us to go away from you, we would disobey him, because knowing your wicked heart, we do not want to leave him alone with you. We shall see from this moment who are to be masters, you or we. You have only now to retire, and as soon as you shall reenter your fort we shall begin our fire."

I sent an escort to conduct the ambassadors to their fort, and we began to fire again as usual. We were three or four days without communication, firing constantly and briskly on

both sides. The enemy discharged their arrows so rapidly that more than three or four hundred were flying in the air at the same time. At their ends were lighted bombs and others with fuses of powder with the object of setting us on fire as they had threatened to do. I found myself very much embarrassed. Their arrows fell in every direction on the houses, which were only covered with straw, so that the fire caught here and there, which so frightened the French that they thought they were lost. I reassured them, telling them that this was nothing, and that we must find a remedy as quickly as possible. "Come then," said I to them, "take courage, let us take the thatch from the houses and let us cover them with bear skins and deer skins; the Indians will help us." I then had them bring in two large wooden pirogues in which I poured twenty barrels of water and provided swabs at the end of rods to extinguish the fire, if it should catch anywhere, and hooks to pull out the arrows. I had four or five Frenchmen wounded. I fell into another embarrassment much greater than this first one. My Indians became discouraged, and wanted to go away, a part of them saying that we should never conquer this nation. That they knew them well, and that they were braver than any of the rest; that besides I could no longer furnish them with provisions sufficient for their subsistence. The inconstancy of these nations ought to teach us how dangerous it is to leave a post so distant as this without troops. I then saw myself on the point of being abandoned and left a prey to our enemies, who would not have given us any quarter and the English would have triumphed. The French were so frightened that they said to me that they saw clearly that it was necessary that we should retire as quickly as possible to Michilimakinac. I said to them: "What are you thinking of? Can you en-

ertain such sentiments? Can you abandon the post in such a cowardly manner? Dismiss from your minds, my friends, so evil a design. Do things appear to you so bad that you should fear so greatly? You ought to know that if you had done such a thing as to abandon me that the Governor General would pursue you everywhere to punish you for your cowardice. What the Indians have just said ought not to frighten you. I am going to speak to all the chiefs in private and inspire them with new courage. Therefore change your views and let me act. You will see that all will go well." They answered that they were only pretending to retreat without my consent and without me at their head, believing that they could not hold the place if the savages abandoned us. They begged me not to consider them faithless and assured me that they would keep on doing all that I wished of them. And truly I was afterwards very well content with them. They did their duty like brave people.

I was four days and four nights without any rest and without eating or drinking, striving all the time to secure to my interests all the young war chiefs, in order to keep them firm with me and to encourage all the warriors not to leave us until we had entirely defeated our enemies. To attain my end, I stripped myself of all I had, making presents to one and another. You know, Monsieur, that with the Indians one must not be niggardly. I flatter myself that you will have the goodness to approve all these expenditures, which for me are immense, and for the King of no consequence; for otherwise I should be much to be pitied, being burdened with a large family which causes me much expense at Quebec.

Having gained all the Indians in private, I held a general council to which I called all the nations and said to them: "What, my children, when you are just on the point of destroy-

ing this wicked nation, do you think of fleeing shamefully after having so well begun? Could you lift up your heads again? You would ever after be overwhelmed with confusion. All the other nations would say: 'Are these the brave warriors who fled so ignominiously after having abandoned the French'? Be not troubled; take courage; we will endeavor yet to find a few provisions. The Hurons and the Ottawas, your brothers, offer you some. As for me, I will do all I can to comfort you and aid you. Don't you see that only a thread holds your enemies? Hunger and thirst overpower them. We shall quickly make ourselves masters of their bodies. Will it not be very pleasant after this great defeat, when you visit Montreal, to receive there the caresses and the friendship of the father of all the Nations, who will thank you for having risked your lives with me? For you cannot doubt that in the report I shall make to him concerning all of this I shall render justice to each of you in particular, for all you have done for me. You must know also that to defeat this nation is to give that life and peace to your women and children which they have not yet enjoyed."

The young war chiefs whom I had gained did not give me time to finish, but said to me: "My father, allow us to interrupt you; we believe there is some liar who has told you falsehoods. We assure you that we all love you too much to abandon you, and that we are not such cowards as is reported. We are resolved, even if we are much more pressed with hunger, not to quit you till your enemies and ours are defeated." All the old men approved of these sentiments and said: "Rush to your arms and prove that those are liars who have reported evil of us to our fathers." Then they raised a great cry and sang the war song and danced the war dance, and a large party went out to fight.

Every day some Sacs who had formerly lived in the same village with the Ottagamies left their fort and came to join their people who were with me, who received them with much pleasure. They made known to us the condition of the village of our enemy, assuring us that they were reduced to the last extremity. That from sixty to eighty women and children had died from hunger and thirst, and that their bodies and the bodies of those who were killed every day had caused an infection in their camp since they did not dare make any attempt to bury them, on account of the heavy fire that we continually kept up.

Under these circumstances the enemy demanded permission to speak to us which we granted them. Their messengers were their two great chiefs, one of the village, the other of war, the first named Allamyma and the other Pamousa. With them came also two great Mascoutin chiefs, one named Kissis, and the other Ouabimanitou. The great chief Pamousa was at the head of the three others, having a crown of wampum on his head, many belts of wampum on his body and hanging over his shoulder. He was painted with green earth and accompanied by seven female slaves who were also painted and ornamented with wampum. The three other chiefs had each a chichicoy in their hand. All of them marched in order, singing and shouting with all their might, to the sound of their chichicoys, calling all the devils to their assistance and to have pity on them. They even had little figures of devils hanging from their girdles. They entered my fort in this manner among all the nations, our allies, and spoke as follows: "My father, I speak to you and to all the nations who are before you. I beg life from you. It is no longer ours. You have made yourselves masters of it. All the spirits have abandoned us. I bring you my flesh in the seven slaves whom I place at your feet. But do not believe I am afraid to die. It is the lives

of our women and children that I ask of you. I beg you to allow the sun to shine, let the sky be clear, that we may see the day and that hereafter our affairs may be prosperous. Here are six belts that we give you, which bind us to you as true slaves. We pray you to untie them as a sign that you give us life. Remember, all of you, that you are our great-nephews. Tell us something, I pray you, which can give pleasure on our return to our village."

I left it to our Indians to reply to these ambassadors. They had become in so short a time so enraged against them that they would not give them any answer. Eight or ten chiefs asked only to speak to me in private. "My father, we come to ask permission of you to break the heads of these four great chiefs. They are the men who prevent our enemies from surrendering at discretion. When these shall be no longer at their head they will find themselves much embarrassed and will surrender."

I told them that they ought to be very sure of themselves to make me such a proposition. "Remember that they came here upon my word and you have given me yours. We must act with good faith and if I accepted this proposition how in the future could you trust one another? M. the Governor General would never pardon me. Dismiss this from your mind. They must return peaceably. You see clearly that they cannot escape us since you are resolved not to give them quarter."

They confessed that I was right and that they were foolish. The ambassadors were dismissed in all safety, without, however, giving them any answer on that which they had come to ask of us. These poor wretches well knew there was no longer any hope for them.

I confess, Monsieur, that I was touched with compassion at their misfortune; but as war and pity do not well agree

together and particularly as I understood that they were paid by the English to destroy us, I abandoned them to their unfortunate fate. Indeed I hastened to have this tragedy finished in order that the example might strike terror to the English and their allies. The great fire recommenced more and more violently. The enemy, being in despair, since they were continually fired upon in their village and out of it, when they wished to go for water or to gather a few herbs to appease their hunger, had no other resource but an obscure night with rain to make their escape. They awaited it with much impatience and it came on the nineteenth day of the siege. They did not fail to make use of it, decamping about midnight and we were not aware of it until daybreak. I encouraged our people and they pursued them very vigorously. M. de Vincennes joined in the pursuit with some Frenchmen and this gave much pleasure to our Indians.

The enemy, not doubting that they would be pursued, stopped at a little peninsula which is opposite Hog Island near Lake St. Clair, four leagues from the fort, protecting themselves by tree branches cut across and logs cut lengthwise. Our people not perceiving this at all, pushed on into their retrenchment and lost there more than twenty men killed and wounded. It was necessary to begin a second siege and to encamp. The camp was regularly laid out. Every day a hundred canoes brought provisions. There were Ottawas, Hurons, Chippaways and Mississagues. The chief sent to me for my two cannon, all the axes and mattocks that I had to cut down the woods, that they might get through them, in order to approach the retrenchment of the enemy, and above all to furnish powder and balls. As for the Indian corn, tobacco and seasoning, they were supplied as usual without counting all the kettles of the French which were lost and for which I had to pay.

The enemy held their position for four days, fighting with much courage and finally, not being able to do anything more, surrendered at discretion to our people who gave them no quarter. All were killed except the women and children, whose lives were spared. One hundred and fifty men, who had been bound, escaped. All our allies returned to my fort with their slaves. Their pastime was to shoot four or five men every day. The Hurons did not give quarter to a single one of them. In this way, Monsieur, came to an end these two wicked nations of such evil intent that they troubled all the country. Our reverend father chanted a grand mass to render thanks to God for having preserved us from this enemy.

The Ottagamies and Mascoutins had built a very good fort, which, as I said before, was within pistol-shot of mine. Our people did not dare to undertake to storm it notwithstanding all I could say. There were three hundred men to defend it, and our loss would have been great. But the siege would not have been very long. Our Indians had lost sixty men, killed and wounded, thirty of whom had been killed in the fort and a Frenchman named Germain. Five or six others were wounded with arrows. The enemy lost a thousand souls, men, women and children.

I do not wish to forget to state to you that there were about twenty five Iroquois who had joined the Hurons of Fond-du-lac in this war. These two nations together distinguished themselves above all the others, therefore their loss has been greater. They have received many caresses from all the Indians and more particularly, since they have made satisfaction for an old quarrel by presents of slaves and pipes. It was I who brought them to this reconciliation. I dare venture to assure, you, Monsieur, that this general assembly of all the nations has put them at peace with one another and has renewed their ancient alliance. They all count on receiving

great presents which they say, Monsieur, you have promised them.

I have determined, with the consent of his nation to send to you, the grand chief of the Illinois from Rock Village. His name is Chachagouache. He is a good man and has much authority and I trust that you will induce him to make peace with the Miamis. This affair is of very great consequence. The Miamis having sent me word, that if it is not brought about, they will abandon their village and build another on the river Ohio at the end of Lake Erie. This is precisely where the English are about to build a fort, according to the belts they have sent to the nations. They also said they would be contented if you would send them, Monsieur, a garrison and a reverend Jesuit father and some presents that, they say, you promised them. Maquisabe, the Pottawatomi chief, has much influence over the mind of this Illinois chief. He goes with him. Joseph, who accompanies them, deserves your kindness. I have had much trouble to save his life.

I venture, Monsieur, to beg you to take care that the Indians who come with M. Vincennes return contented. Their visit secures this post. Saguina has written to me that M. Desliettes would not wait for him last spring, believing that it was through neglect poor Otchipouac died this winter. It is a loss for he had much firmness and was well disposed toward the French.

We have another difficult affair which threatens to be difficult. The Kickapoos, who live at the mouth of the Maumee, are about to make war upon us, now that our allies have left us; about thirty Mascoutins have joined them. A canoe of Kickapoos, who came from Detroit to speak to the three villages, has been destroyed by the Hurons and Ottawas. Among them was a great chief whose head was brought to me with the heads of three others. This blow was struck, out of resentment, because, last winter, they had taken prisoners from

among the Hurons and the Iroquois. Besides they considered him a true Ottagami. I believe that if M. de Vincennes had not been at the mouth of the Miami at the time the Kickapoos would have killed the two Hurons and the Iroquois. There was every probability of it. These same people took prisoner also, Langlois, who was on his return from the Miami country, and who carried many letters from the reverend Jesuit fathers at the Illinois villages. All these letters have been destroyed, which circumstance gives me much uneasiness as I am sure there were some for you from Louisiana. They dismissed this Langlois after robbing him of his peltry, telling him to return and tell them the news, but he had no more desire to do that, than I had to permit him. However, the Ottawas might safely send there. The Kickapoos have among them one of their women with her children. I will endeavor to prevail upon the Ottawas to join with the Hurons in order to make a reconciliation with this nation that we may have peace here.

All the nations have gone away peaceably with all their slaves. Saguna has left his village and gone to Michilimakinac. The Hurons also abandoned theirs and will either come here or go to the Illinois. More than half of the Ottawas of this place are going also to Michilimakinac. The Chipaways and the Mississaguas will go to Topicanich. They have not at all been disposed to give any satisfaction to the Miamis for the murder of last year with M. de Tonty. The Miamis insist upon knowing the reason why. I spare no trouble to induce them to be patient and to persuade them that I labor constantly for their interests.

I have the honor to inform you, Monsieur, that last autumn I accomplished a measure that M. de Lamothe could never effect during all the time that he was here, which was to compel the Ottawas to make a solid peace with the Miamis, and to compel them to visit the latter, which they have never

been willing to do. I succeeded very happily, the Miamis having received them as kindly as possible and they have made a strong alliance.

I flatter myself, Monsieur, that it will be agreeable to you to be assured that M. de Vincennes has faithfully performed his duty and that he has labored carefully here, as well as on his journey to the Miamis and Ouyatonons last winter.

If I am so happy, Monsieur, as to receive your approbation of my conduct; I shall be fully compensated for my trouble and shall experience no more dejection. My success has been owing to the great influence I have over the nations. M. de Vincennes is witness. I do not say this in order to gratify my vanity or to claim any credit for truly I am very tired of Detroit.

You can easily judge, Monsieur, in what a condition my affairs must be in consequence of having no presents belonging to the King in my hands. However, I dare to trust to your goodness and to hope that you will not suffer a poor devil to be reduced to beggary.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monsieur, your very humble and very obedient servant,

DUBUISSON.

Au Fort du Detroit, Pontchartrain, June 15, 1712.

In his memoirs sur le Canada, Gedeon de Catalogne describes thus the destruction of the Foxes at Detroit in 1712. It is at all times well to notice that M. de Catalogne was then at Quebec. He tells his story by hearsay. He was not an eye-witness. That explains the variations of his version from that of M. Buisson.

"It is well to know that when M. de Lamothe was at Detroit, wishing to attract the commerce of all the nations to his fort, he sent belts to the Mascoutins and the Kickapoos to invite them to set up their village at Detroit where a place was

offered them. They accepted his offer and having come to the number of about forty families, they made a fort in the place which was assigned to them.

"As this nation is feared and hated by the other nations, by reason of its arrogance, a conspiracy began to be stirred up against those who had settled at Detroit. And in 1712 S. de Buisson being in command at Detroit, the conspiring Hurons and the Outaouacs to the number of about 900 men repaired to the French fort, to whom this commander opened the door where they entered suddenly and ascending the bastions which looked out over the fort of the Foxes on whom they fired several rounds of musketry.

"One of the chiefs of the Foxes raised his voice and spoke to the French in these words: 'What does this mean? You have invited us to come and live near you and while your word is still fresh in our ears you declare war upon us. What reason have we given you for it? Apparently, my father, you no longer remember that there are no nations, among those who call themselves your children, who have not imbrued their hands in the blood of the French. I am the only one to whom you cannot make reproaches and yet you join our enemies to eat us up. But remember that the Fox is immortal and if in defending myself I spill the blood of the French, my father must not reproach me. And remember several other facts.'

"His audience finished, which was often interrupted by the musketry, The Fox responded in kind very well and worked night and day to dig caves in their fort in which to place their families under shelter from the fire of the armies. On the fourteenth day the Fox, beginning to lack everything to sustain life, raised his voice again in these words: 'My father, I no longer address myself to you. I speak to those women who are hidden in your fort that if they are as brave as they are said to be, that they will select eighty of the best warriors to whom I promise and you shall be witness of it, my father,

that I will oppose against them only twenty, and if the eighty conquer I consent to be their slave and if on the contrary the twenty conquer the eighty warriors, they shall be our slaves.' No reply was made to all his propositions except by musketry, but no one was killed.

"The eighteenth day having come, and the Foxes being entirely exhausted, since for six days they had eaten nothing, they went out of their fort at night with their families without being discovered. At daybreak the French were accustomed to fire several discharges of musketry from their fort on that of the Foxes, who replied on their side. But on this day, there was no more firing from their fort, which caused the French so much curiosity that they went to the fort of the Foxes, where they found no one. At the time the chiefs asked M. de Buisson that S. de Vincennes, with a number of Frenchmen, should march at their head in pursuit of the Foxes.

"Since the Foxes were starving they stopped on a peninsula to pasture their cattle. It was possible to get to them only by a defile, which they had taken care to guard. When the besiegers arrived there, closing the Foxes' way of escape, firing began on both sides.

"The Fox seeing himself cut off from escape, lifted his voice again to speak to M. de Vincennes, who had already shouted to them to surrender: 'We wish to surrender to you. Reply to me immediately. Tell me, my father, if there is any quarter for our families. Reply to me.'

"The S. de Vincennes shouted to him that he would grant them their lives. Immediately the Fox put down his arms and when he went to meet the allies in an instant they were surrounded and all the Foxes cut in pieces before they could reach their arms. The women and children were taken as slaves and the greater part of them sold to the French.

"Thus perished the Foxes whom M. de Lamothe had invited to Detroit. As soon as the Mascoutins and Kickapoos of

the great villages learned of this action they sent several parties into the field, some to le Baye, others to Detroit and to all avenues of approach, making all the other nations flee who did not dare resist their approach, until M. de Louvigny besieged them in their fort where they were well retrenched. Nevertheless, on account of bombs, they were forced to surrender. Their life was granted to them by M. de Louvigny in spite of the opinion and advice of the other nations who wished to exterminate them."

M. de Vincennes, as we have just seen, had been sent to Quebec by M. de Buisson to inform M. de Vaudreuil of the success of the French arms against the Foxes. By a letter from M. de Vaudreuil to the minister dated Quebec, Nov. 6, 1712, we see that M. de Vincennes returned the same autumn of 1712 among the Miamis of the St. Joseph river.*

In 1715 a party of the Miamis of the St. Joseph river were about to settle on the Maumee river near the actual site of Fort Wayne, Indiana. M. de Vincennes, who commanded them, followed them. From there he wrote to MM. de Ramezay and Begon that the English of Carolina were having recourse to every sort of expedient to persuade the Miamis to join them.†

From a resume of a letter of Governor de Vaudreuil submitted to the council of the Marine, June 28, 1716, we see that the allied nations of the upper country lived then in harmony and were well disposed toward the Foxes, their enemy.

M. de Vaudreuil said: "S. de Ramezay has been informed by Sr. de Vincennes, officer detached to the Miamis and the Ojibwanons that the Iroquois have sent belts to this nation under the earth, which means secret signs by which they invite them to seek the necessities of life at a post established on the Oyo river. (This post is a new settlement of the English from

*T. Saint-Pierre, *Histoire des Canadiens du Michigan*, p. 109.

†O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. IX, p. 931.

Carolina.) That they will find there merchandise, a half cheaper than among the French who trrannize over them."

Sr. Vincennes replied that all the Miamis, fathers and sons, were children of Onontio (the French governor) and that they would never cease to obey him. The same Ouiatamons sent to Sr. de Ramezay a young slave to repeat, to him, for them the request which they had made last year for an officer to assist in their council, for a missionary to instruct, and for a blacksmith to repair their arms. The Marquis de Vaudreuil ought to grant their request, following the intention of the council. He ought to take particular care to garrison all the posts. It is of the last consequence, above all to establish firmly those of the south where the English of Pennsylvania, Carolina and Virginia are very anxious to enter. That would ruin not only the commerce of Canada but also that of Louisiana by means of the communication of the rivers which flow into the great river Mississippi."

June 26, 1717, the king ordered a letter written to MM. de Vaudreuil and Begon that he was well pleased to learn that M. de Vincennes had prevented the Miamis and the Ouiatamons from accepting the belts of the English. His majesty hoped that the sending of scarlet cloth would turn the savages away from commerce with the English.

We see from a letter from M. de Vaudreuil to the minister, Oct. 30, 1718, that M. de Vincennes was then at his post among the Miamis.*

Oct. 28, 1719, M. de Vaudreuil announced to the Council of Marine the death of M. de Vincennes. "It seems to me that it is very necessary that M. de Buisson continue to serve in this country, since he is more capable than any other officer of the government. The Ouiatanons and the Miamis know him and esteem him. He has a great reputation among them since the defeat of the Foxes at Detroit where he was in command dur-

*Archives du Canada, Correspondence generale, vol. 39.

ing the absence of Sr. Laforest and where the Miamis and the Ouitatanons came to trade, their village being not far distant from that post. These two nations have not yet made any move to go, the one to the St. Joseph river and the other to the Teatiky. They promised me, by speeches which I received from them last summer, that they would not fail to go to those places this autumn, but they have changed their mind, since that time, because I learned by the last letters which have come to me from the Miamis that the Sr. de Vincennes, being dead in their village, the Indians have decided not to go to the river St. Joseph, but to stay where they are."‡

The Miamis preserved for a long time the memory of M. de Vincennes. Thirty years after his death, as we shall see by the following little incident, the French used his name to work upon the minds of these savages. After his arrival in New France, in 1747, M. de la Galissonnière realized the importance for France to have a road of communication between her two colonies of New France and of Louisiana. With this object in view, he decided to send an expedition to take formal possession of the Ohio valley, which English traders were beginning to frequent. He needed to accomplish this task, a capable officer of tact and influence among the savages. Pierre-Joseph Céloron de Blainville, captain of a company of troops of a detachment of the Marine, had all these qualities. He was sent into this distant region. The instructions which M. de la Galissonnière sent him, were, to journey over this immense country, to go among the different nations who inhabited it, to persuade them to follow him, to be witnesses of what he did and above all to allow no English to come to trade among them.

The expedition left Lachine, June 15, 1749. M. de Céloron had under his orders, a captain, M. Pécaudy de Contrecoeur,

‡Archives du Canada, Correspondence generale, vol. 40; O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, vol. LX, p. 894.

eight subaltern officers, six cadets, twenty troopers, one hundred and eighty Canadians and about thirty savages, Iroquois and Abenakis.

Sept. 13, 1749, almost three months after its departure from Lachine, the expedition arrived at the village of la Demoiselle near la Roche river, inhabited by the Miamis. M. de Céloron waited five days in this village for a Miami interpreter, whom he had requested from M. de Raymond, commandant of the post of Kiskakon. The interpreter not arriving, M. de Céloron decided to speak to the Miamis through an Iroquois, who spoke their language well. M. de Céloron got along very easily with the Miamis who were clever fellows. In the name of the governor of New France, he offered them eight strings of wampum. These presents were given to them to leave the villages of la Demoiselle on the La Roche river and Baril on the White river.

The interpreter accompanied the presentation with the following discourse: "My children, the fact that I am treating with you in spite of what you have done to the French, to support your women and children ought to prove to you the attachment which I have for you and the integrity of my sentiments. I forget what you have done and bury it deep in the earth, that I may never remember it again, persuaded that you have done nothing except at the instigation of a nation whose policy it is to trouble the earth and to ruin the mind of those who communicate with them, and who rise, profiting by the misfortune of others. These people you have allowed to get control of you. They have caused you to do wrong and have persuaded you to evil deeds, without appearing themselves to take in them any part, in order to separate you from me. I am sending you my word to clear your minds. Listen to it well and give your attention to it, my children. It is the word of a father who loves you and to whom your interests are

dear. I extinguish by these two strings of wampum the two fires which you lighted two years ago on the Rocky river and the White river. I extinguish them in such a way that no spark will ever rise from them again."

Always in the name of the governor of New France M. de Céloron offered them a belt to the Miamis of the villages of la Demoiselle and Baril. This new present, richer and more important, was to ask the Miamis to return to their ancient village where M. de Bissot de Vincennes died thirty years before. Let us listen to the interpreter speaking in the name of M. de Galissonnière: "My children, I desire to tell you by these strings of wampum that I have extinguished the fires that you have lighted on the Rocky river and on the White river. By these belts I lift for you your rush mats and I take you by the hand to lead you to Kiskakon, where I will relight your fire and settle you more firmly than ever. In this land, my children, you will enjoy perfect tranquillity, where I am ready every instant to give you signs of my friendship. In this land, my children, you will enjoy the sweetness of life, being the place where repose the bones of your ancestors and those of M. de Vincennes, whom you have loved so much and who always governed you, so that your affairs were prosperous. If you have forgotten the councils which they gave you, these ashes will recall them to your memory. The bones of your ancestors suffer from your absence. Have pity of these words which call you back to your village. Follow with your women and your children. The chief whom I send you brings you my word and will light anew your fire at Kiskakon so that it will never be extinguished. I will give you all the aid you have reason to expect from my friendship, and think, my children, that I am doing for you that which I have never done for any other nation."

FRANCOIS-JOSEPH BISSOT.

(Uncle of François Marie Bissot de Vincennes.)

Born at Quebec, May 19, 1673, of the marriage François Bissot de la Rivière and of Marie Couillard.

Nov. 9, 1695, François-Joseph Bissot, Charles-François Bissot, Louis Jolliet and Charles Jolliet formed a five years' partnership to go to Mingan to make a deal in the land of François Bissot de la Rivière from Egg Island to the Bay of the Spaniards. The partnership did not last long since the following year the Bissot heirs, thinking that they could not enjoy nor make profitable the shares which they possessed in the seigniory of Mingan, rented and farmed out the seigniory of Mingan to Louis Jolliet for five years.

After the death of Louis Jolliet in 1700 his sons formed a partnership with Charles-François Bissot and François-Joseph Bissot to carry on the enterprise at Mingan. On March 30, 1708, François Bissot, Jean-Baptiste Demeules and Joseph Guion de Rouvray formed a partnership for five years to make a settlement in a place called the Three Islands on the north coast of Newfoundland where they were to hunt, to fish and to trade. The hired men who were to make the voyage with the partners were named Labarre, Argencourt, Rousseau, Bonhomme, Paul Martel and Rasset.

Oct. 24, 1731, MM. Beauharnois and Hocquart wrote to the minister: "Srs. Bissot and Cheron, merchants and navigators, of the city of Quebec, have requested of us that it be permitted to them to search for the anchors lost in this roadstead, on the condition that those which they recover shall belong to them, without their being compelled to pay the rights which belong to Mgr. the Count of Toulouse, on account of the expense they will be under in recovering these old sea marks. For their success is uncertain on account of the difficulty and

the risks which they may find. Nothing could be more advantageous to commerce than this enterprise. Wherefore I beg you, Mgr., to authorize them to do it and to make his highness agree to give up the third part which belongs to him in everything that is brought up from the bottom of the sea according to Article X of the first title of the first book of the ordinance of 1681. The accidents which happened daily to vessels by striking these lost anchors, which chafe and cut their ropes and send them into the coast are the motives which cause us to request of you orders on the proposition which these men have made us."

In 1733, François-Joseph Bissot wrote to Minister de Maurepas to obtain from his majesty his continuance in the possession of the seigniory of Mingan granted to his late father, François Bissot de la Rivière by the Company of the Indies in February, 1661. M. Bissot explained to the minister that since the retrocession of the colony by the company of the Indies to his majesty, there had been established a domain which at first was bordered by the concession of his father but which later took in a third of his seigniory. M. Bissot said further that the original title granted to his father in 1661 had been destroyed in a fire of the lower city of Quebec.

The suppliant, added he, has recourse to Your Highness to beg that you obtain from his Majesty that he be preserved in the possession which he has, to keep his concession from the limit of the domain which is at present from Cormorant Point going down the river to the land granted, and the exclusive privilege of maintaining there along his settlements and of making new ones if it is possible. To kill seals, with the rights of hunting and of trading with the Indians, which his late father possessed and which he has enjoyed more than sixty years. He dares, moreover, Mgr., to be sure of the justice of your highness on this occasion, since the favor, which he takes the liberty to ask, is the fruit of his labor and of the ex-

penditures which he has made in places which seemed inaccessible and where he has placed the little property which his father left him. Having nothing else by which to support his family it would be very sad for him, Mgr., to see disorder rule in this place for several years among the savages, whom he has always kept in sentiments of Christianity and who are only under the authority of the French who come there by favor of the permission they obtained to go fish for cod on the coast of Labrador, and who by the commerce in brandy destroy entire families and ruin at the same time the suppliant by the loss of sums of money on the credit which he is obliged to give the Indians to keep them from seeking their necessities from the English of Hudson Bay, as they did before the suppliant hunted them up for more than a hundred miles inland to attract them to the sea coast.

Minister Maurepas had at that time too many important affairs on his hands to concern himself with the request of M. Bissot. It was put in his drawer and forgotten.

March 15, 1736, François-Joseph Bissot gave a lease on the farm for nine years of all the rights possessed by him in the seigniory of Mingan to Jean-Louis Volant d'Hautebourg, a lawyer of Quebec. The latter promised to pay to M. Bissot for each year of his lease a sum of twelve hundred livres.

In 1737 M. Bissot made a new effort to obtain from Minister Maurepas the confirmation to the concession of Mingan. In his own name and in that of the other heirs of the late François Bissot de la Rivière he addressed a new petition to M. de Maurepas. The considerations of this new petition were almost the same as those of the one he had presented in 1733. He finished by saying: "Monsieur, the suppliant has recourse to your Highness to prevent a very great wrong being done to him. He begs to be maintained in his possession of that which remains to him of the land which extends from the cape of the Dead Bodies. Especially since it appears by the ordinance of

M. Hocquart that it extends to the limit of the concession accorded to Sr. de Lafontaine. It is very hard for him, that after a possession of seventy years without interruption in places that were up to his time inaccessible, he should see himself despoiled of it, little by little. The act of faith and homage of which he has the honor to affix a certified copy proves that this land was granted to his father. His possession of seventy years and more, cannot be disputed. Therefore, Mgr., he dares to hope that the justice of Your Highness will hasten to make for him a new brevet of concessions from His Majesty of the tract of land mentioned above. The ordinance of M. Hocquart refers to it. His co-heirs appoint him to appear before His Majesty to obtain this from him. He begs Your Highness not to refuse him this favor that he may in his old age enjoy the tranquillity which his labors in these places ought to allow him."

On April 9, 1738, Minister Maurepas brought the demand of François Bissot to the attention of MM. de Beauharnois and Hocquart and he added "if it should be agreeable to you to verify the facts which he has shown and to inform me of them giving me your advice about the request he has made, in order that I may place His Majesty in a condition to decide that which he may judge proper. If you judge that it would be just to grant the confirmation requested, will you take care to explain to me clearly the situation and the limits of the land. But in the examination which you make of this affair, will you care to propose nothing which could harm the domain of His Majesty."

The letter of Minister de Maurepas to MM. de Beauharnois and Hocquart arrived like mustard after dinner, since it came to Quebec almost a year after the death of François Bissot. He in truth had died at Quebec Dec. 11, 1737.

In a "Petition to justify the possession of the Bissot and

Jolliet heirs to the post of Mingan situated on the north shore of the river St. Lawrence on terra firma" presented to the Count of Halifax, secretary of state on Oct. 23, 1763, by M. Lafontaine de Belcour, son-in-law of M. de Bissot, we read: "After his death (François Bissot de la Rivière), Sr. François Bissot, the eldest of his children, continued to live at Mingan for forty years with his family and continued there the same estates that his father had developed jointly with Sr. Jolliet, who had married one of the sisters of François Bissot, whence comes the right of the descendents of Sr. Jolliet in the post of Mingan. In 1733, Sr. Bissot, the grandfather, retired to Quebec, rented the post to Sr. de Lafontaine, his son-in-law, a lease which was not to last longer than a year. Then Sr. Volant rented it from Sr. Bissot and the Jolliet heirs.

ACT OF THE MARRIAGE OF JEAN BAPTISTE BIS-
SOT DE VINCENNES AND OF MARGUERITE
FORESTIER.

(Montreal, September 19, 1696.)

On the 19th day of September, 1696, was made and solemnised the marriage between Jean Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes, officer in the detachment of the marine, age 27 years, son of François Bissot and of Marie Couillard, of the Parish of Notre Dame of Quebec, and Marguerite Forestier, age 21 years, daughter of Antoine Forestier, surgeon, and of Madeleine de Cauclier, her father and mother of this parish. He has paid for the three bans granted by M. Dollier, Grand Vicar. The said marriage was made in the presence of Antoine Forestier, father of the girl, Séraphin Margane, Sr. de la Valterie, Captain of the detachment of the marine, brother-in-law of the groom; Charles le Gardeur, Esq., Sr. de l'Isle, officer of the

troupes; Jean Boudor, merchane, and Bernard Arnaud, merchant. Robert le Cauclier, grandfather of the bride.

Vinsenne

LaValterie

J. Boudor

LeCavelier

Marguerite Forestier

Le Gardeur Delisle

Arnaud

A. Forestier

M. Caille, discharging the function of Cure.

—

ACTE OF THE BIRTH OF FRANCOIS-MARIE BISSOT DE VINCENNES.

(Montreal, June 17, 1700.)

On the 17th of June, 1700, was baptised François-Marie, son of Jean Bissot, Sr. of Vincennes, officer in the troops, and of Marguerite Forestier, his wife. He was born the same day of the said month and year. His godfather was François Margane, esq., Sr. de Batilly, also officer in the troops. His godmother was Marie Magd. Forestier, daughter of Sr. Forestier, surgeon.

Batilly

M. Magdelaine Forestier

R. C. De Breslay P. I., acting as cure.

—

FRANCOIS-MARIE BISSOT DE VINCENNES

(Founder of Vincennes.)

Born at Montreal, June 17, 1700, of the marriage of Jean-Baptist Bissot de Vincennes, officer in the troops, and of Margueritte Forestier. He was baptized the same day by M. l'abbé

de Breslay. His godfather was his cousin, François Margane de Batilly, officer in the troops, and his godmother, his aunt Marie-Madeline Forestier.

Here is the explanation of the error made by most of the historians on the subject of the founder of Vincennes. François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes sometimes signed his name Margane de Vincennes, whence the conclusion has been drawn that it was not a Bissot de Vincennes but a Margane of Lavaltrie. Under the French regime a number of Canadians adopted as a middle name the name of their godfather in preference to those which they had received in baptism. In signing his name Margane de Vincennes the founder of Indiana was only honoring his godfather and following a common custom.*

After 1718 the young de Vincennes served with his father among the Miamis as a cadet. On May 20, 1722, François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes was made a half pay ensign of Louisiana.‡

On October 24, 1722, Governor de Vaudreuil wrote to the Council of Marine: "I have received the letter which the council has done me the honor to write to me on the fourteenth of last June by which it had the goodness to inform me that his royal Highness approved of the plans which I had made to attract the savages to the St. Joseph river and to the Teatiky to form settlements there, and of the part which I have taken in sending M. de Buisson, captain, to establish a post among the Miamis and to be in command of this post, as well as of that of the Ouyatanons and to have him sent to the Miamis, to prevent the effect of the practices which the English continue to use, to attract the Indians to Orange. I

*This custom is still very much in vogue in our time.

‡Alphabet Laffilard, vol. 11, p. 319. The same Alphabet gives also the date October 19, 1722.

tried to take the most just measures to stop these practices or at least to render them useless and I hope to succeed by the name of Sr. de Buisson who formerly wiped away the anger of a part of these savages on an occasion when they were not allowed to have any more French brandy. By his wisdom he knew how to manage them in such a way that in the end he succeeded in making them more docile than they were before.

"The log fort which he had built and which was finished last May is the finest in the upper country. It is a strong fort and safe from insult from the savages. This post which is of considerable extent ought to have a missionary. One could be sent there in 1724 if next year the council will send to Canada the four Jesuits which I ask.

"The band of forty or fifty Ouyatanons who have settled on the Teatiky decided to return to their ancient dwelling when they saw that most of the nation did not wish to abandon it. The Sr. de Vincennes' son, who is only a cadet in the troops, is in command of this nation under the orders of Sieur de Buisson. He has been there since 1718 and he is very useful on account of the great credit which he has acquired among these savages who preserve for him the same attachment which they had for Sr. de Vincennes, his father. His services deserve that the council should desire to give him their attention. If I had foreseen the establishment which the king has made this year of a second ensign in each one of the twenty-eight companies that his Majesty maintains in Canada, I would have had the honor to propose him to the council, to have one of the places which were not yet filled by petty ensigns as they are at present. But since there are three second ensigns with letters of service who ought not to be received in this rank except in those places which will come to be vacant in the future, I beg the council very humbly to grant similar letters of service to the Sr. de Vincennes in order that he may be

received in the first place which may be vacant after the Srs. Le Verrier, Sadrevois and Lignery have been received.”*

In 1723 when he was accused before the minister of not lending aid and assistance to the government of Louisiana the Marquis de Vaudreuil defended himself energetically. On October 11, 1723, M. de Vaudreuil enumerated to the minister all the means he had taken to assist Louisiana. He used the occasion to make known the merit of M. de Vincennes: “After what I have done in 1719, as well as in this year, to prevent the Abenakis from going to live among the Foxes, for which I was greatly thanked by a letter which Father Aubry, their missionary, wrote me the third of this month, of which I enclose a copy, I leave you to judge, Mgr., if one has any right to say that I have no regard for what happens to the government of Louisiana, as a thing to which I ought to lend aid and assistance, and to prevent wars which could happen there on the part of the nations which are dependent on me.

“Not only on these two occasions have I given my attention to this matter but I have done so in many others when the Ouyatanons would have made war on the Illinois, if by the orders which I have always given to Sr. Vincennes to keep these two nations in peace he had not stopped the movements of the Ouyatanons among whom he has all the credit imaginable, and had made several voyages with them to the Illinois.”*

August 17, 1724, M. de Vaudreuil wrote to M. de Boishriand, commandant among the Illinois: “I am much pleased with the advancement of Srs. St-Ange, father and son, but I am surprised that you are thinking of taking Sr. de Vincennes away from my government and that you have tried to make him leave a post where he is very necessary, on account of the credit which he has among the savage nations of this post,

*Archives du Canada, Correspondence generale, vol. 44.

*Archives du Canada, Correspondence generale, vol. 45.

which you know does not belong in any way to the government of the Mississippi. I would be very sorry to be obliged to take my complaint to court, which I will, however, have to do if you continue to try to take him away. I flatter myself, Monsieur, that you will give your attention to this matter and that you will reflect on the inconveniences which could come from it.

"I wrote last year for the advancement of Sr. de Vincennes. I hope that the court has paid attention to my representations and that he will have his advance this year."*

On February 9, 1725, M. Dugué de Boisbriand, commandant among the Illinois, wrote to the company of the Indies: "It would have been advantageous to establish a post on the Wabash, but since up to now, they have not even kept up the one among the Illinois, there is little likelihood that one could undertake to establish this post. It is, however, much to be feared lest the English take possession of it, which would lose us entirely the colony of the upper country, since it would be easy for them with the enormous quantities of merchandise which they ordinarily carry, to gain all the savages of that district. Will the company have the goodness to reflect well on this matter?"†

On May 11, 1725, the company of the Indies sent to M. de Beauharnois, governor general of New France, a memoir in which it asserted that the introduction of commerce on the part of strangers into Canada would ruin it, do harm to the kingdom and alienate the savages from the French. It suggested as a means of obviating from the state, things so prejudicial, the establishment of posts commanded by competent officers. It demanded also the severe punishment of those

*Archives du Canada, Series F., vol. 56. p. 147.

†Pierre Margry, *Memoires et Documents pour servir a L'Histoire des Origines Francaises des Pays d'Outre-Mer*, tome, vol. 16, p. 657.

colonists who allowed the savages to carry merchandise to the stranger. It also demanded that no Englishman be allowed to settle at Montreal.

The company of the Indies said to M. Beauharnois that M. de Vincennes was the most capable man to drive the Miamis against the Foxes, if there should be occasion to make war against them, but it added that it was necessary to preserve the friendship and the dependence of all the savages, who lived along the line of communication between Canada and Louisiana in order to have nothing to fear from the English. And for this end it demanded the establishment of a post at Wabash.*

On December 22, 1725, the company of the Indies wrote to M. de Boisbriand: "It would be well for you to write to M. Vincennes, who is among the Miamis, to beg them to come to an understanding with the commandant of the Wabash in regard to the savage nations which he commands, and to give him information of the enterprises which the English could start in that district. The company begs Mgr. Count de Maurepas to be willing to send orders to Canada by the first vessels which leave for Quebec, in order that Sr. de Vincennes may be commanded to act in conformity, and that all the other officers placed among the savage nations of the government of Canada who live at the mouth of the Wabash river may protect as much as they can the post, which the company is establishing there, and shall join together with the commandant there to drive away the English, who may penetrate as far as this river.†

On April 23, 1726, M. de Vincennes was promoted to be second ensign.* M. de Beauharnois and Dupuy were told the

*Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes for 1904, p. 16.

†Pierre Margry, *Memoires et Documents pour Servir a l'Histoire des Origines Francaises des Pays d'Outremer*. vol. 6, p. 657.

*Alphabet Laffilard, vol. 11, p. 319.

news by the following letter of the council of Marines (May 14, 1726): "The six vacancies in the rank of second ensign have been granted to Srs. Desgly, Lorimier, de Vincennes, Mouchy, d'Hocquincourt, Delage, and Malespine."†

On the 14th of May, 1726, the king informed MM. de Beauharnois and Dupuy that the English had built two houses and some store houses on a river which flowed into the Ouabache, in order to trade there with the Miamis and the Ouyatanons. He ordered them to give orders to M. de Vincennes that he get into communication with M. de Boisbriand, in order to place obstacles against the expansion of the English in this district.‡

On the 30th of September, 1726, the company of the Indies sent to M. Périer, governor of Louisiana, the following memoirs on the measures which were to be taken by M. Vincennes to observe the conduct of the English: "About 120 miles above the Arkansas there flows into the Mississippi the Ouabache river formed of four other rivers, one of which rises near Lake Erie and is called the St. Jerome or the Ouabache, the other called the Ohio rises among the Iroquois, and the two others called Tennessee and Cumberland rise near Virginia. The country which these rivers water abounds in wild cattle and is not yet occupied by any European nation."

"Since the first of these rivers is the means of communication between Louisiana and Canada, and since this communication will be entirely broken if the English form a settlement at the confluence of one of these three other rivers, which would expose, at the same time, the country of the Illinois and place in danger all the upper country of the colony, the company has ordered the establishment of a post on the Wabash river and has begged the governor of Canada to order the Sr.

†Archives du Canada, Serie B., vol. 42.

‡Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes for 1904, p. 72.

de Vincennes who is in command among the Ouyatanon-Miamis settled near the source of the Wabash, to get into communication with the commandant of the new post, to make this nation approach to protect this post and also to observe the conduct of the English and to drive them away in case they draw near.

"M. Perrier will see by the enclosed copies of the letter written to M. de Boisbriand and of the memoirs sent to M. le count de Beauharnois, what the company considers ought to be done in this matter. M. de Boisbriand advises in reply that the lack of merchandise prevents him from establishing the said post and that he believes it necessary to give the command of it to M. de Vincennes, who is already half-pay lieutenant of infantry at Louisiana and who can treat with the Miamis better than any other.

"On the other hand the company learns through M. Desliettes, commandant among the Illinois, that Sr. de Vincennes had come to find him and to tell him that he had learned that the English had already formed a settlement near the source of the Ohio river, and that he had sent the Sr. de Vincennes with presents for the Indians, ordering him to make sure of the truth of this news. If it is confirmed there is not a moment to lose in having the lower part of the Ohio river occupied by the Ouyatanons, and it is necessary immediately to establish a fort on the Wabash near the place where the Cumberland rivers flows into it. To place there in command an officer who can live in harmony with the Sr. de Vincennes, whom it will not do at all to remove from the Ouyatanons, if one hopes to get from them the service which we desire. M. Perrier must consider well this affair and find out, if in giving eight or ten soldiers to the said Sr. de Vincennes with the missionary destined for Wabash, he will not find himself in condition to assure, through the savages, the communications between Louisiana and Canada, and of preventing the Eng-

lish from penetrating into our colony, without obliging the company to construct in the lower regions of the Wabash river a fort, the expense of the establishment of which, and the maintenance of a garrison would be an object of consequence.

"In order to persuade the Sr. de Vincennes to attach himself to the colony of Louisiana, M. Perrier advised him that he would obtain from the company for him an annual stipend of three hundred livres which would be paid to him along with his salary of half-pay lieutenant."*

des Origines Francaises des Pays d'Outremer, vol. 16, p. 658.

In the list of officers of the troops of the detachment of the Marine serving in New France signed at Quebec October 15, 1729, one reads: "Second ensign; Vincennes."†

On April 4, 1730, M. de Vincennes was confirmed half-pay lieutenant of Louisiana. He had already served in this capacity several years without having the rank.

On October 15, 1730, MM. de Beauharnois and Hocquart wrote to the minister: "We have received the letter which you have done us the honor to write to us, the second of last March, sharing with us the reflections which you had made on the means of preventing the commerce of the English with the savages and concerning which it has pleased you to ask our advice.

"To prevent this commerce it is necessary to stop it entirely. Which means that precautions must be taken that the post of Niagara and of Fort Frontenac are always well supplied with merchandise for trading. That will be very easy if the king's ship arrives in good season as it did this year.

"As regards the post of Detroit and equally the prevention of commerce of the English with the savages, it will be important to follow the intentions which one had in mind in the

*Peirre Margry, *Memoires et Documents Pour Servir a l' Histoire*

†Archives du Canada, serie F., vol. 51.

first settlement and to accomplish it, it is necessary to establish there a good garrison in the beginning, in order that following the intention of the court, this post may be in a state to maintain good order and to make respected the French and the savages.

"It is certain that the intentions, which have been held since the establishment of Detroit, were, in part, to break off the liaisons of the English with the savages and to cause to cease the commerce which they carry on among them. The expedient which we use to carry out these intentions and to prevent entirely the association of the savages with the English might be, as you have done us the honor to point out to us, to oblige the Miamis and the Ouyatanons to come to supply their needs at Detroit, not allowing travelers to carry anything among them. But we think that there is cause for fear lest the English go among the savages, who will receive them, thinking that the French have abandoned them. It is certain that, if at present, we abandon one only of the posts which the French occupy, that the English will establish themselves there immediately. So we think that it is necessary, better to fortify those which we have today, rather than to weaken them in obliging one nation to go among another to find there the necessities of life, the more, that it seems to us dangerous to assemble different savage nations in the same place for fear that they do not get along well together.

"The Ouyatanons have been led into the government of Louisiana by the Sr. de Vincennes, who is entirely separated from this government.* Sr. de V Beauharnois (to oblige this nation to return among the Miamis to supply their wants) at first intended to allow no traveler to come up from that territory and he would have put his plan in execution, if he had not found himself obliged to grant this permission to Frenchmen in order to send missionaries to the Tamarois, and

*That is the government of Canada.

they brought with them merchandise in great quantities which they put on sale in the old post as usual.”†

In the plan of the state of the expenditures for the year 1731 one sees that the officer in command at Wabash was to receive as a supplement to his salary, as well as for the maintenance of the fort during the last six months of the year 1731 a sum of 400 livres at the rate of 800 livres a year. The same budget gives us the name of the officers who were at Quebec, with the salaries which they were to receive: St. Jantzen, lieutenant, 240 livres for the last six months; Sr. de Saint-Ange, 240 livres for the last six months; and Sr. de Vincennes 240 livres for the last six months.*

October 12, 1732, MM. de Beauharnois and Hocquart wrote to the minister: “Sr. de Vincennes who is among the Ouyatanons has been informed of the last arrangements made for the transportation of Illinois cattle to Canada, and has written to M. de Beauharnois, that, if His Majesty will grant the same perquisite that he has to Sr. Gastineau, that is to say 1000 livres he will guarantee to send them alive to Canada. As the arrangements were only conditional, we have replied to him that he would be treated as Sr. Gastineau had been.”†

In a list of officers of the troops of the detachment of Marine in 1732, one reads Bissot de Vincennes, ensign, thirty-four years old.‡ In reality M. de Vincennes was only thirty-two years old in 1732.

In the budget of expenses of 1732 for salaries and perquisites of Louisiana one finds: “To M. de Vincennes, commandant at Wabash for a perquisite 800 pounds.§

†Archives du Canada, Correspondence generale, serie F., vol. 52, p. 27.

*J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 297.

†Archives du Canada, serie F., vol. 57, p. 73.

‡L'abbé Daniel, *Aperçu sur Quelques Contemporains*, p. 52.

§J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 307.

In a letter that M. de Vincennes wrote on March 7, 1733, to one of the officials of the department of the Marine in France one finds interesting information about his post and about these savages among whom he lived. "To reply to your letter which I have had the honor to receive I begin by informing you that the Wabash is composed of five nations who compose four villages of which the least has sixty men carrying arms, and all of them could furnish from six to seven hundred men if it were necessary to assemble them for the welfare of the service and for their own welfare. On account of the nearness of the English, it has been impossible for me to bring together all these nations because there has always been a lack of merchandise in this place. The fort which I have built is about eighty miles in the Wabash country up the river by which the English have been able to descend and open up commerce with these nations. The place is very suitable in which to build a great settlement which I would have done if I had had troops enough. In regard to the commerce which one can carry on here, a traffic in skins could go on all year to the extent of 30,000 skins. This is the only commerce, Monsieur, which could be carried on for the present.

"I have never had a greater need of troops in these places than at the present time. The savages, the Illinois, as well as the Miamis and others are more insolent than they have ever been, especially since the Foxes were defeated. The little experience which I have acquired in the twenty years that I have been among them, causes me to fear some evil trick on the part of these nations and above all, of my own who seeing a settlement which I had begun, did not seem to wish it to be continued. Since for three years nothing has happened. Except, Monsieur, the migration of all the nations not only of the lakes but also of other places.

"You do me the honor to indicate to me that I send you a statement of the work done and to be done. There is only one

fort and two houses within and it will be necessary very soon to build a guard house with barracks in which to lodge the soldiers. Nothing else is possible in this place with so few troops. I need thirty men with an officer. I am more embarrassed than ever, in this place, by the war with the Chicasaws who have come twice since spring. Only two days ago the last party took away three people and since the French took up tomahawks against them I am obliged every day to put up a defense. I hope, that of your goodness, you will indeed wish to give your attention to this place and to my difficulty for myself as well as for the little garrison which I have. This is the favor which he awaits, from you, who has the honor to be, with profound respect, M., your very humble and very obedient servant,

VINSENNE.

On March 21, 1733, M. de Vincennes wrote another equally interesting letter to the same person: "I have just received a packet from M. le marquis de Beauharnois which I have sent to M. de Saint-Ange in order that you may have it as quickly as possible.

"M. le marquis de Beauharnois sent me a belt and a pipe for the Illinois which I sent to M. de Saine-Ange to insist that the nations go and attack the Chickasaws. All the nations of Canada and of the lakes start this spring to go there. Both nations here have gone even their chiefs. Not a single man remained in all these villages. And they all passed in front of this post, which is not a favorable condition.

"I had the honor to inform you in my last letter that the Chickasaws this autumn killed six Frenchmen in the Wabash country who had come to this post and were living here. This same party killed one of the savages of this post and his wife. If they begin to come in these places it will be difficult to travel. M. le marquis de Beauharnois indicates to me that he

wishes absolutely to destroy the Chickasaws and their allies and to prevent these nations from joining those of Canada.

"In this post we lack everything. I am obliged to borrow from travellers and to give the little that I have myself to take care of all the affairs which come up daily. I have the honor to beg you, Monsieur, to give your attention to this matter and to have me reimbursed for what I have furnished. I realize that it has already cost me much. When these nations return and when all the prisoners, which they have taken are given to us, it will be necessary to pay for this sort of thing as well as to look for the dead if we lose any one. I hope that they will come this autumn and make the attack. At least I will invite them here since they are all disposed to come. I am about to go in a few days to their large village and if I find everything quiet I may go down into Canada. M. le marquis de Beauharnois tells me that he will allow me to make this trip to attend to some family matters. I will not be longer than five months on this voyage. I am writing to M. Saint-Ange to send his son in my absence. I hope Monsieur that you will not take it ill, that I make this trip because I will not do it unless I see everything in good shape in this continent. I have the honor to be

"With profound respect, M., your very humble and very obedient servant,

VINSENNE.

The fort of Wabash, March 21, 1733."*

On March 24, 1733, Count de Maurepas, president of the Council of Marine, wrote to MM. de Beauharnois and Hocquart that Sr. Gastineau having been unsuccessful in sending the cattle from Illinois, it was not necessary to make arrangements with M. de Vincennes, commandant among the Ouyatons, since the experience of Sr. Cugnet did not give reason to

*J. P. Dunn, *The Mission of the Ouabache*, p. 305.

hope that one could obtain wool from them. There was therefore no advantage in domesticating these animals.†

On April 1, 1733, M. de Vincennes was made half-pay lieutenant in Canada.‡

On May 20, 1733, MM. de Bienville and Salmon wrote to the minister: "By the same letter Sr. Saint-Ange says that he is little assured of the fidelity of the Illinois, who often give him alarm and seem likely to fear our resentment over their past faults in order to have a pretext to make a disturbance.

"In another region Sr. de Vincennes who is in command among the Miami calls attention to the fact that the savages settled on the Wabash are not any more tranquil than the Illinois. That he is in no condition to prevent their carrying on commerce with the English since it is necessary to reunite them all, and since he has no merchandise to attract them, since moreover the garrison is too feeble to restrain these nations.*

In a memoir of M. de Bienville on Louisiana which seems to be about 1733, it is said: "Sr. de Vincennes who commanded there (at Wabash) informed him that the Peangui-chas who were settled near our fort desired to bring among them a village of the same nation who had remained about sixty miles higher up the river. Two reasons made him favor this design, the first to fortify our settlement and the second to take away from this village the facility of commerce with the English who had established two stores among the Chanuans on the Ohio River.†

In their letter to the minister April 8, 1734, MM. de Bienville and Salmon wrote: "As concerns Wabash, M. de Vincennes from whom we have had no news informs us by a messenger, who has just come down from among the Illinois, that

†Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes for 1904, p. 169.

‡Alphabet Laffillard, vol. 11, p. 319.

*J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 300.

†J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 308.

the fort which he had built for the garrison which consisted of only ten men is very small and in fairly good condition, that it is necessary only to place around it a double wall of stone. That he has had built within a house at his own expense for his dwelling and that some of the soldiers on their part have made barracks to live in, that immediately the garrison is to be increased to thirty men, an order which M. de Bienville has given to M. Dartaguiette.‡

On April 13, 1734, in his letter to MM. de Beauharnois and Hocquart, M. de Maurepas returning to the proposition of M. de Vincennes approved that they had written to him not to send cattle from Illinois, this enterprise appearing impracticable

July 20, 1734, the king had a letter written to M. de Beauharnois saying that he had learned by way of Louisiana that the Foxes, after the unfortunate affair of the Bay of St. Joseph, had retired on to the Wisconsin river and that M. Dartaguettes had sent scouts after them to locate them and to make the nation march against them. The king added that Sr. de Vincennes, commandant at Wabash, had written to him that the savage Peauguichias, settled near his fort, wished to bring to themselves the greater part of their nation who were sixty miles higher up. This would have given importance to Wabash and would have taken away from the English the commerce which they were carrying on with the Peauguichias village. The savage Chouanons who had two English commercial agencies established near them had the same intention of going away, a party to Wabash and a party to Detroit.

July 27, 1734, M. de Bienville wrote to the minister: "Sr. de Vincennes, who is in command at Wabash, advises him that the Peauguichias, who have settled near our fort, desire to attach to themselves a village of the same nation who remain

‡J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 308.

sixty miles higher up. Two reasons make him favor this design the first to fortify our settlement and second to take away from this village facility of commerce with the English.

"This officer adds that it will not be difficult to take away from them this nation who have only given them the preference because it was not so easy to obtain their necessities from us as from the English. He is sure that a party has the intention of going to Detroit and another of coming to him. If Monsieur considers that these changes are advantageous, I will give orders in consequence to M. de Vincennes. Moreover, since the post of Wabash is one of the most important of the colony, being a barrier which is opposed to the progress of the English who have always frequented much these districts, he has given orders to M. Dartaguettes to detach thirty men with two officers to make up the garrison for it.*

On August 20, 1735, M. de Bienville wrote to the minister: "Sr. de Vincennes who is in command of the fort of the Peanguichias has persuaded the savages of his district to declare war against the Chickasaws and has secured from M. Dartaguettes the argeement to march with them, with those of the French which he can get together. Since this officer has much influence over the minds of the savages M. de Bienville is persuaded that he will encourage them to do their best."†

The Chickasaws, a large and enterprising nation, very hostile to the French and allied with the English with whom they kept up continuous and important commercial relation, inhabited all the country between the Illinois and the Choctaws on the south. Each year they grew larger from the debris of other tribes who came to unite with them and to bring to them a new strength. Assured of the aid of the English, having in their power a strong contingent of savages, they enjoyed

*J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 329.

†J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 309.

disturbing the French settled among the Tonicas and the Arkansas. They attacked their convoys going up among the Illinois and, what concerned much the governors of Quebec and of New Orleans, they favored the establishment of colonies from Virginia on the Ohio and on the Illinois rivers. England very much desired this establishment, which was to serve as a barrier between the two colonies of Canada and of Louisiana, and was to weaken them in separating them. Moreover she hoped in this way to obtain possession of the trade in skins from the south to the north of America, because the savage tribes were persuaded, not without reason, that the English could more easily than the French bring plenty into their country in giving to them at better rates their merchandise from Europe and buying more dearly the product of their hunting.

The aggressive and provoking attitude of the Chickasaws could not long be endured. It was important to reduce their power as soon as possible, if one wished to assure the free possession of the Mississippi valley and to prevent the English from opening stores between Canada and Louisiana.

The governor of Louisiana, M. de Bienville, summoned the Chickasaws to bring him without delay the head of the Natchez who had taken refuge among them. The chief replied "the Natchez form one nation with the Chickasaws, we can not give them up." Little content with this reply M. de Bienville declared war against them. He ordered the commandant among the Illinois, M. Dartaguettes, to levy as many soldiers as he could among the Illinois, the Canadians and the French in the Chickasaw country on May 10, 1736. He himself would unite at Mobile all those available in Louisiana. He would ascend the river of the same name by a flotilla of rafts and of boats and would arrive at Tombeche (today Cotton Gin Port). There 200 Choctaws awaited him with Father Beaudoin, their missionary. The army would set on the march the next day

and on the evening of May 27 it would camp one mile from the great village of the Chickasaws.

The arrangement made by M. de Bienville could not be so secret that they were not discovered by the enemy. The Chickasaws, guided by the English, fortified their retrenchments and awaited the French with assurance. Two assaults were made the same day and vigorously repulsed. Unhappily the governor, who did not think that he would need his artillery, had left it seven miles away and he had no time to bring it up, for the savages of other towns ran in great numbers to aid the great village. He sent back the Choctaws with presents, ordered a retreat and took the road back to Mobile.

This expedition for which a two years' preparation had been made culminating in so inglorious a manner diminished perceptibly the reputation of the great captain. His friends tried to make the blame fall on commandant Dartaguettes who had not joined him, they said, as he had been ordered. This defense was mistaken, for the commandant had invaded the land of the Chickasaws on the ninth of May at the head of 130 French or Canadians, 100 Illinois M. de Vincennes' savages and some Iroquois. There were about 400 men. Bancroft says there were nearly 1,100.

For ten days M. Dartaguettes camped at the sources of the Yalabusha and waited there futilely for M. de Bienville, to the great discontent of the savages who became impatient, murmured and threatened to desert. In this situation he took the course which seemed to him wisest and most dignified. He set his troops in movement, took possession of a village and marched against another. There he hesitated, the French scouts asserted that the village was defended by numerous troops. The savages maintained the contrary. He believed the latter and commanded an assault. A first and then a second fort was deprived of its flag; at the assault of the third he was wounded and fell. Discouraged, the savages betook them-

selves to a precipitate flight except the Iroquois who accomplished prodigies of valor. With them, the officers and the soldiers resisted the enemy until the moment when, being out-flanked, and succumbing to a greater number they were forced to think of retreating. The greater part of the French and the Iroquois succeeded in escaping and retiring in good order under the guidance of Voisin, a soldier sixteen years old who made himself officer and directed the retreat with the sang-froid and the experience of an old captain. Followed by the Chickasaws for 25 miles, he held them at a distance and made his men, inspired by his example, run for 45 miles without food carrying the wounded.

At the assault of the third fort some soldiers and the three brothers Drouet de Richerville, distinguished officers, found a glorious death. MM. Dartaguettes, de Vincennes, de Coulanges, the fourth brother de Drouet, Du Tisé, d'Esgly, de Sainte-Ange, de Tonty and fifteen or sixteen soldiers were made prisoners and led to a mound in the middle of the town. There stripped first of their clothing, insulted and cruelly beaten they were thrown on two pyres where they expired with the most atrocious suffering.

With these heroes died, under the same tortures, the Jesuit Antoine Senat. He had arrived from France among the Illinois in 1734, and M. Dartaguettes had attached him to himself as a chaplain when he set out against the Chickasaws. . . . He could have fled with Voisin and his companions; he was advised to do it, he was even offered a horse but he refused, his duty being to be with the French whom the enemy were about to make captive. He was taken with them. With them he marched to the place of martyrdom; with them he submitted to the last outrages and the bastinado. The dream of his heart of an apostle was realized. He heard the last confession of his companions. He absolved them and exhorted them to offer to God with courage and like true martyrs the sacri-

fice of their life. Before mounting the pyre, falling on their knees they prayed, then they entoned in a firm voice the psalms and the canticle and continued then in the midst of the flame. Later, in relating this scene of martyrdom, the savages said that the French sang as they went up; and in seeing them die they gave them this praise by these simple words "Truly these Frenchmen are not women, but men."*

On what date and in what place were M. de Vincennes and his heroic companions put to death by the Chickasaws? Opinions differ considerably about the date of the death of M. de Vincennes. Several official accounts, those of the abbé Ferland, the R. P. de Rochemonteix and most of the authors who come after them, say that this event took place the end of May, 1736.

They are mistaken. On April 13, 1736, Toussaint Loizel wrote from Sainte-Ange among the Illinois to his brother who lived at Montreal: "Before I finish I must send you a word concerning the war which has been made against the Chickasaws where we have lost forty French. M. Dartaguettes commandant of the said post has been killed with seven officers of the troops, four of the militia. . . .

Then Loizel names to his brother some of the officers and soldiers who have been killed by the Chickasaws: "MM. de Sainte-Ange, son, Coulonge, Levillie, the young Declaude, Vincennes, la Graviere with M. Belcour and another of his brothers and the fourth with a broken shoulder, M. de Tonty, d'Esgly, and the old Lalonde and Antoine Carriere, Louis Langlois, M. Dutilly, son. The others are Frenchmen of Quebec. You do not know them."*

The letter from M. Loizel as we have just seen is dated

*Pere Camille de Rochemonteix, *Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle France au XVIIIe siecle*, vol. 1, pp. 361, et seq.

*M. Phileas Gagnon has published the letter of Loizel in the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, vol. VI, p. 110.

April 13, 1736. Therefore M. de Vincennes and his companions were put to death before April 13.

But we have a contemporaneous authority who gives us the exact date of the death of M. de Vincennes.

June 29, 1736, Father Mathurin LePetit, superior of the Jesuits of Louisiana, wrote to the general of his order at Rome: "Patrem Senat provincia tolosana qui in eadem regione alteram illinensium missionem a 18 mensibus tantum sed magna jam linguae peritia et majori studio excolebat, bellis casus nobis precepuit die dominica palmarum."

(On palm Sunday the fortune of war took away from us Father Senat of the province of Toulouse. He had charge of another mission of the Illinois in the same country for only eighteen months but he already knew the language and was still more remarkable for his zeal.)*

Two years later, June 25, 1738, Pierre LePetit, writing again to the general of his order, repeated the fact that Father Senat had been burned on Palm Sunday, 1736:

"Post Multos rumores, tandem facti sumus certiores P. Antonii Senat generosam caritatem gloriosa martyrii corona fuisse donatam eo ipso die (dominica Palmarum a 1736) quo comprehensus fuit a barbaris nostraegentis hostibus vulgo dictis Thikakas."

(After many rumors we are at last certain that Father Antoine Senat has been recompensed for his generous charity by the glorious crown of Martyr. On the same day (Palm Sunday, 1736) that he was made prisoner by the savages enemies of our nation commonly called Chickasaws.)†

Father Senat and M. de Vincennes being put to death together, it follows that the latter was burned Palm Sunday, 1736, that is March 25, 1736.

It is very difficult to establish the precise place where M. de

*The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, vol. LXVIII, p. 308.

†The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, vol. LXIX, p. 28.

Vincennes was put to death. However all witnesses seem to agree in placing the forts of the Chickasaws near Fulton, Lee County, Miss., U. S.

The sources to consult on the last campaign and the death of Francois-Marie Bissot de Vincennes are:

Letter of M. Cremont to the minister, 1736. Original of this letter at the Archives of the Marine, in Paris. A resume of it is found in the Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes for 1905, vol. 1, p. 542.

Account which Sr. Drouet de Richerville tells of the engagement which M. D'Artaguette had with the Chickasaws in the month of March, 1736. Original of this account at the Archives of the Marine, in Paris. A resume of it may be found in the Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes for 1905, vol. 1, p. 452.

Recital of the march and of the defeat of M. Dartaguiette told under the name Parisien. Original of this recital in the Archives of the Marine, at Paris. Resume in the Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes for 1905, vol. 1, p. 453.

Anonymous account of the defeat of M. Dartaguiette. Original of this account at the Archives of the Marine, in Paris. Resume in the Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes for 1905, vol. 1, p. 453.

Recital by M. de Bienville of his expedition to the country of the Chickasaws, of the non success of his enterprise and of his retreat. Original at the Archives of the Marine, in Paris.

List of the troops and militia who made the campaign against the Chickasaws, 1736. Archives de la Marine, at Paris.

Banishment of the Jesuits from Louisiana, in Documents Inedits of Father Carayon, XIV, p. 24.

Letter of the Jesuit father, Le Petit, to the general of the Jesuits, New Orleans, June 29, 1736, published in Jesuit Relations and Other Documents, vol. LXVIII, p. 308.

Letter of the Jesuit father, LePetit, to the general of the

Jesuits, New Orleans, April 24, 1738, published in *Jesuit Relations and Other Documents*, vol. LXIX, p. 28.

June 21, 1737, M. de Bienville wrote to the minister: "The Peanghikeas among whom we have a post where the late M. de Vincennes was in command have almost all left their village since his death, except about fifteen men who are still with Sr. de Sainte-Ange. They have gone higher up on the Wabash to another village. I foresee that if this station is deserted we will be disturbed by the Chickasaws at this post where the garrison is not strong. This circumstance and the recent and repeated attempts of the English to penetrate into the colony by way of the Ohio river by which they descend into the Wabash country has determined me to replace this fort about forty miles further down at the mouth of this river. I would have done this sooner if the savages had been willing to follow us there. It appears now that the Kickapoos and the Mascoutins who came two years ago to set up their village with the Miamis do not get along well with them, and M. de la Buissoniere assures me that if one should invite them, they would settle there. I sent him orders for this change which would not cost much and I hope that Mgr. will approve of them. I only fear that Sr. de Linquetot, an officer of Canada who is in command among the Miami and the Ouyatanons may be opposed to letting the Kickapoos and the Mascoutins go, because these two nations belong to his department. I will write to him on this subject."*

On the next day, June 22, 1737, M. Salmon wrote in his turn to the minister: "I learn through Sr. Delaloire that the Sr. Sainte-Ange, son, who went up to the Wabash country to take command of that post in place of the late M. de Vincennes, reports to him that the savages who are his neighbors desire to abandon him, that some of them have already gone away to their ancient village of Vermillion to such a number

*J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 310.

that there remain not more than twenty-five men. That if they go away, as seems likely, he will be forced to disband the garrison who will find themselves at the mercy of their enemies. He adds that he has not seen, up to the present, that this post was of great use and that it causes much expense. For myself I think that truly it is more expensive than it is useful. However it might be of consequence to preserve to prevent the English from settling there which they will certainly do if we abandon it.”*

It has been written that François-Marie de Vincennes was chevalier de Saint-Louis. No. -- In the official list of the officers killed by the Chickasaws on March 25, 1736, one reads Chevalier de Vincennes. That does not mean that M. de Vincennes was chevalier of Saint-Louis. Bescherelle says, “The eldest son of a baron, the third son of a count, the fifth son of a marquis were called chevalier without belonging to any order of chivalry.”

All that was imitated in New France. Here, generally, the title of Chevalier was given to the younger brothers of a family. François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes adopted the title of chevalier probably because he belonged to the junior branch of the Bissot family.

THE FAMILY MARGANE DE LAVALTRIE SERAPHIN MARGANE DE LAVALTRIE†

Seraphin Margane de Lavaltrie was originally from Paris, parish Saint-Benoit. He was the son of Sabastien Margane

*J. P. Dunn, *The Mission to the Ouabache*, p. 312.

†M. de Lavaltrie signed his name either “La Valterrie” or “L-Valtrie.” It is written la Valterrye, La Valtrye, La Valtery, La Valterie, la Valterie, la Valtrie, and Lavaltrie. We adopt this last orthography which is the most commonly used in our time and which moreover approaches most nearly that employed by M. Lavaltrie himself.

and of Denise Jonnot. The father of Seraphin Margane was an advocat in the parliament of Paris.

Lieutenant of the guard of Marshal d' Estrades, then lieutenant of the regiment de Lignieres, M. de Lavaltrie took service under M. de Tracy, in 1664 and went to New France as a lieutenant in the regiment de Carignan in 1665.

When Louis XIV recalled Carignan's regiment back to France he informed the officers and soldiers that he would be well pleased to have a certain number of them settle in the new country. Several officers and more than four hundred soldiers adopted therefore Canada as their new fatherland. The soldiers received a little sum of money to assist in their settlement and the king gave the officers concessions of land. M. de Lavaltrie was among those who stayed here. October 29, 1672, the intendant Talon granted to him an important concession of land.

The conditions imposed on M. de Lavaltrie were the same as those of all the grants of seigniorys at this time; faith and homage to the Chateau St. Louis at Quebec to maintain or cause to be maintained residence and occupation on the concession; the preservation of the forests of oak; a report to the king or to the company of the West Indies of the mines and minerals found in the seigniory, etc., etc.

In 1673 M. de Lavaltrie joined M. de Frontenac's expedition to Lake Ontario. The governor left Montreal toward the end of June with a fleet of four flat boats and 120 canoes which carried six cannon and 400 men. The principal object of M. de Frontenac's voyage was to build a fort on the shores of Lake Ontario, whence one could watch the movements of the Iroquois. The fort was placed on the point near the mouth of the Catarakoui river and received the name of Frontenac. Today it is Kingston. They worked with such ardor that the fort was built in several days. M. de Frontenac was even able to leave a commandant with a little garrison.

The official account of the expedition to Lake Ontario mentions M. de Lavaltrie's name several times.

The census of New France made in the autumn of 1681 informs us that M. de Lavaltrie was settled at his seigniory. He was then thirty-eight years old, his wife twenty-nine, their children Marie-Anne, thirteen, Charles eleven, François-Marie nine, Genevieve seven, Louise five, Pierre three, and Barbe eight months old. There were in the manor three guns and two pistols. The stables contained ten horned cattle. M. de Lavaltrie possessed twenty acres in cultivation. The census gives us also the names of the tenants of Seigneur de Lavaltrie: Gabriel Gibault, François Bottou, Antoine Deseve, Jean Cassavant, Pierre Guignet, Jacques Lafontaine, Pierre Lesiege, Nicholas Prunier and Claud Bourgeois.

Nicolas Perrot writes in his "Memoir on the Manner, Customs and Religion of the Savages of North America."

"I was sent in the spring of 1685 to the Bay des Puants with the commission of commander in chief of the furthest countries of the east coast and moreover of those which I might discover. M. de la Durantaye relieved M. de Lavaltrie who had been commandant in the country of the Iroquois."

If M. de Lavaltrie was commandant in the east before M. de la Durantaye he remained there very little time, for from 1673 to 1685 one notices his absence almost continually at his seigniory of Lavaltrie or at Montreal.

In 1687 in M. de Denonville's expedition against the Tsonnontouans M. de Callieres was commander general of the militia, divided in four groups as were also the king's troops, commanded by MM. Berthier Becard de Grandville, Le Moyne, de Longueuil and Lavaltrie. Again in this expedition M. de Lavaltrie showed his military qualities. On July 13 at a little distance from the principle village of the Tsonnontouans he rendered a great service to M. de Longueuil by sav-

ing the advance guard of his army from being surprised by the Indians.

In 1690 when Sir William Phipps was about to lay siege to Quebec, M. de Frontenac sent M. de Ramezay to M. de Callières, governor of Montreal, to order him to have the troops and the militia sent down. The recruiting of the troops and of the inhabitants was made so rapidly that three days later the contingent from Montreal arrived at Quebec. None of the numerous accounts of the siege of Quebec tell us that M. de Lavaltrie took part in the glorious defense of the capitol, but we have nevertheless the right to presume that M. de Lavaltrie was of the party with the brave militia from his seigniory.

November 12, 1690, M. de Frontenac, giving an account of the raising of the siege of Quebec to Minister de Seignelay, wrote: "I send you the rank of the officers which I have replaced since the reform of last year, since I could not still recognize them I have not acted in this matter except by the light which Monsieur, the intendant, has given me. He has considered it expedient, and I have, too, to find means of satisfying by certain marks of honor, which will cost nothing to the king those persons, who have rendered excellent service in the preceding campaigns and to whom M. de Denonville had promised a recompense. A fact which obliges me to add certain commissions to those who were captains, lieutenants and half-pay ensigns, but AD HONORES only, in the hope that you will not disapprove."

In the rank of which there is here question we see that M. de Lavaltrie received a commission of lieutenant in the place of M. de Louvigny who was made half-pay captain. M. de Frontenac thus recompensed M. de Lavaltrie for his good conduct in the expeditions of 1673, of 1687, and probably also at the siege of Quebec.

M. de Lavaltrie died at Montreal May 16, 1699, and was buried the next day in the parish church.

He had married at Quebec, August 12, 1668, Louise Bissot, daughter of Françoise Bissot de la Rivière and of Marie Couillard.

October 20, 1699, MM. de Callieres and de Champigny wrote to the minister:

"The sieur de Lavaltrie left a widow very poor with five or six children to whom his appointments and a stipend of 150 livres gave the means of living. They find themselves entirely deprived of it and, in consequence, of everything else. We can not, in so desperate a situation of this poor family, fail to beg His Majesty to continue at least the stipend in the name of the widow. May 31, 1700, the king sent a reply that he could not for the present grant to Madame de Lavaltrie the pension which she demanded. A little later the governor and the intendant returned to the charge and this time the king acceded to their demand. M. de Lavaltrie received a modest pension until her death at Montreal, March 1, 1783.

Of the marriage of Seraphine Margane de Lavaltrie and of Louise Bissot were born eleven children.

1. Marie Anne. M. de L., born at Quebec, June 20, 1668. Married at Montreal, October 28, 1694, to Ignace Boucher de Grobois.

In 1725 Madame Boucher de Grobois still lived at Boucherville.

2. Charles Seraphin M. de L., born at Montreal, August 5, 1669.

In 1691, the governor of Frontenac granted him a commission as ensign in the place of M. Boucher de Grandpré who was made half-pay lieutenant. This commission was confirmed by the king March 1, 1693.

In 1693, M. de Frontenac entrusted M. d'Ailleboust d'Ar-

genteuil with an important message for M. de Lavigny, commandant at Michelimakinac. Recognizing the braveness and the cleverness of the young de Lavaltrie, M. de Frontenac gave him instructions to escort M. d'Ailleboust d'Argenteuil and his eighteen companions through the most dangerous passages. M. de Lavaltrie had under his orders twenty volunteers and a certain number of savages from the Sault and from the mountain. The voyage out was accomplished successfully but on his return, in the first days of June, 1693, the escort was suddenly attacked by a large band of Iroquois who were hidden on the shores of a rapid near the island of Montreal. M. de Lavaltrie and three of his companions were killed. The other members of the escort succeeded in escaping.

3. François-Marie Margane de Batilly. Born at Montreal, November 13, 1672.

At the baptism of François Marie Bissot de Vincennes at Montreal, June 17, 1700, he was called François Margane, esquire, sieur de Batilly. He signed Batilly.

January 2, 1694, the young de Batilly was made ensign in the troops of the detachment of the Marine.

In the winter of 1703 and 1704 governor de Vaudreuil sent a party of 250 men against New England. He entrusted the command to M. Hertel de Rouville, half-pay lieutenant. This party ascended Lake Champlain and then Onion river. They followed first the Connecticut river as far as Deerfield which was the nearest settlement to Canada in this direction. This village was defended by some irregular fortifications and some redoubts which the snow covered. Deerfield had a garrison of twenty soldiers. M. de Rouville approached during the night of February 29. The patrols did not even suspect the presence of the enemy. Two hours before dawn the Canadians and their savage allies scaled the wall, penetrated the village and surprised the inhabitants in their sleep. They did not have time even to resist. The place was destroyed in

a few moments. Forty-seven persons were killed and 112 made prisoners. The village was reduced to ashes. The same morning M. de Rouville took the road for New France with his prisoners and his booty. The return journey lasted 25 days during which the hardy Canadians and their prisoners had no other food than that which the hunt could provide them.

M. de Rouville had lost only three Canadians and some savages. The *ensign de Batilly* was killed during this bold expedition. As M. de Vaudreuil relates in his account to the minister of the exploit of M. de Rouville against Deerfield, dated April 3, 1704.

"We have lost Monsieur only three Frenchmen and some savages. Among these is Sr. de Batilly, *ensign*, a very brave man, the second of his family to have been killed in the service of the king.

4. Genevieve M. de L., born at Montreal, July 12, 1675. Married at Montreal, January 3, 1696, Charles Le Gardeur de Lisle. Died at Montreal, November 30, 1702.

5. Madeleine Louise, M. de L. Born at Lavaltrie, November 27, 1676. Married at Montreal, December 11, 1698, Paul d' Ailleboust de Perigny, lieutenant in the troops of the detachment of the Marine.

M. de Ailleboust died at Montreal February 3, 1745. Madame d' Ailleboust survived her husband many years. May 22, 1761, she entered in retreat among the gray Sisters at Montreal.

6. Pierre Margane des Forets et de Lavaltrie, the ancestor of the present family.

7. Barbe M. de L. Born at Lavaltrie in February 1681. Married at Montreal, November 27, 1719, to Etienne de Bragelongue, chevalier.

8. Jean Baptiste M. de L. Born at Lavaltrie, November 3, 1683. He still lived in 1725.

9. François M. de L. Born at Lavaltrie September 9, 1685.

It is he whom the American historians and most of the Canadian writers of history consider erroneously the founder of Indiana, making him usurp the glory and the merit of his cousin François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes.

About 1700 Augustin Le Garduer de Courtemanche, lieutenant in the troops of the detachment of the Marine, well known for his exploits in war and his bold journeys into the east made an exploration of the coast of Labrador. Fishing and hunting were so advantageous in this unknown region that he decided to settle there. He made his settlement near the river of the Eskimo. In order to hold the savages in awe he also built a little fort in which he intended to place some armed men in order to be prepared for whatever might happen.

The young de Lavaltrie lover of adventures of the chase and of fishing followed his cousin M. Le Gardeur de Courtemanche to Labrador. He was put in command of the fort of Pontchartrain.

In 1711 young de Lavaltrie had the honor to come to announce to Governor Vaudreuil that the English had crossed the sea with a formidable fleet with the intention of laying siege to Quebec. Each summer, numerous vessels of the French and of strangers came to fish in the waters of Labrador. It was through one of these vessels that Minister Pontchartrain communicated this serious menace to M. de Courtemanche.

M. de Lavaltrie, in the month of October of the same year, announced to the population of Quebec the horrible shipwreck of many of the vessels of the proud Admiral Walker on the reef of Egg Island. The formal examination of M. de Lavaltrie before the provost of Quebec gives us the gloomy details of this shipwreck which saved the colony.

"Today, October 18, 1711, at three o'clock in the afternoon,

before us, Paul Depuy, esquire, commissioner of the king and his particular civil and criminal lieutenant in the court of the provost and admiralty of Quebec, filling, by order of His Majesty, the function of lieutenant general in the chair, in our court, and in the presence of the king's prosecutor there appeared François de Margane, Sr., de Lavaltrie, an officer serving at Fort Pontchartrain in Labrador. The same, after having taken the oath before us in the usual manner to tell the truth, has said and declared that on the third of last August, he was sent from Fort Pontchartrain by M. de Courtemanche, commandant of the said place to M. de Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor general of this country, to advise him that this city was in danger of being besieged by the English enemies of the state, according to the advice which he had received from Monseignor, Count Pontchartrain, and that some days after his arrival in the said city the said governor general had ordered him to return to his post and that if the enemy appeared again to bring him news of them as soon as possible. He reported that on the 18th of last September he returned to Labrador in a canoe with two Frenchmen and a savage and that on the first of this month having arrived at Egg Island, which is seventy leagues away from this city, he perceived signs of a shipwreck which compelled him to land and get out on land where he found on the sand, four dead men, whom he recognized as English; that he discovered, at the same time, a number of foot prints of men which he followed with his comrades for a space of two miles along which road they found only two good stranded ship-boats with seven or eight others which could be repaired. Returning to their canoe, they saw two men who were walking on the sand and whom they recognized by their speech, to be French. Having approached them they knew them to belong to the crew of the ship of a man named Vital Caron. They were guarding the booty and picking up more, which consisted of coats, coverings,

shirts, and other spoils which they showed to them and told them of the ship-wreck which had happened to the English fleet which was coming to besiege this city. Since they did not wish to go to the city, they had stayed at the place, declaring to him that they had seen seven English vessels on the point of land toward the northern coast near the said Egg Island, of which one was entirely broken up, two others half destroyed and three others driven to the coast of which one held with two anchors and the other which had three in her hull and the seventh vessel, which floated at sea, lay at anchor, which he believed was greater than any which are at present in the roadstead of the village. The others were smaller, however, he estimated at about three or four hundred tonnage. The largest, which lay at anchor, was swept away from its first bridge. The iron frame work of those which were burned was on the shore. That, he believed that, of these vessels, only the largest one could be repaired. That they had seen, moreover, on the shore fifty to sixty dead bodies among whom there were about twenty women, some of whom had children at the breast. That they had also seen on the sand, horses, sheep, dogs, fowls, a quantity of pack saddles for the work horses, three or four hundred great casks encircled with iron. They did not know if they were filled. Many wheel barrows, even a hogshead of wine, a keg and a half of brandy of which they had declared they had drunk several times with the said two men of the said Caron. That there were also on the shore, ropes, anchors, sail, planks, joists of oak, hides, pikes, pick axes, oaken planks, hinges and scrap iron of which they had seen heaps three feet in height and which the said two men told him, that the said Vital Caron had taken away two wagon loads of booty, which he had taken with him to the Seven Islands to divide among the men of his crew made up of twenty-five men, and that one of these had found twenty white sous in the pocket of one of the ship-wrecked and another a gold watch. That all these

things and his duty had made him give up his voyage and the profit which he could have made by doing as these others had done by taking the wreckage of this ship in order to come to this city to bring the news of it and to make his declaration of it, which he had done as quickly as possible, arriving in fifteen days in spite of the bad weather which he had during his voyage, which is all that he had to say. Demanding, moreover, that there be accorded to him the rights that belong to an informer he had signed the original with us on the day and the year above mentioned. So signed to the said original Margane de Lavaltrie, Lespinay, Dupuy, and Rivet Greffier, the undersigned.*

May 9, 1712, M. de Lavaltrie married at Beauport, Angeli-que Guyon-Desprès, daughter of François Guyon-Desprès, and of Madeleine Marsolet.

Before he had even settled on his seigniority of Beauport, Robert Giffard on March 14, 1634, created an *arrière-fief* in favor of one his compatriots, Jean Guyon. Giffard and Guyon were Percherons, but le Perche is next to Normandy. In eight years MM. Giffard and Guyon had six law suits concerning this *arrière-fief*. By his marriage with the grand daughter of Jean Guyon, M. de Lavaltrie became one of the proprietors of the *arrière-fief* Du Buisson. A veritable fatality was attached to this property. He was obliged to carry on three or four law suits to protect the little part of the seigniorial property which his marriage had brought him.

Sept. 19, 1713, M. de Lavaltrie associated himself with Bernard de Plaine to make a voyage to Cape Breton where M. de Plaine had some property. The partners intended to carry on there trading, fishing, and hunting. Since each partner had furnished an unequal amount of merchandise it was understood that he who had furnished the most, should take out in

*Archives du Canada, Correspondence generale, vol. F. 32; p. 171.

skins at the current price, the proportion which he had advanced. What was left should be divided half and half.

The partnership between M. de Lavaltrie and M. de Plaine did not last long. Labrador with its inslands abounding in game, its rivers full of fish attracted him. He soon returned there. Only instead of being under the order of M. de Courtemanche he fished and traded with the savages on his own account with the assistance of two or three hired men.

M. de Lavaltrie had no concession in Labrador. The country was large, the rivers numerous so that MM. de Courtemanche and Lavaltrie could easy carry on his exploits without annoying the other. As long as M. de Courtemanche lived there was no difficulty in this matter.

In June, 1717, M. de Courtemanche died at his estate on Phelippeaux Bay. Sieur de Brouage, the son of the first marriage of his wife, succeeded M. de Courtemanche as commandant of the post of Labrador. Young, ardent, jealous of his rights, he did not tarry to find that the coast of Labrador, in spite of its immensity, was too confined for him and M. de Lavaltrie.

Sept. 9, 1718, he complained of M. de Lavaltrie to the consul of the Marines. This complaint is found in the Archives du Canada. Correspondance Generale.

The following year, Sept. 6, 1719, M. de Brouage put in another complaint against M. de Lavaltrie.

M. de Lavaltrie who saw that M. de Brouage would succeed in driving him from Labrador if he did not attain a concession addressed himself to MM. de Vaudreuil and Begon. They presented his demand to the minister. May 25, 1719, the minister replied favorably to the governor and the intendant. However, the consul of the Marines did not take up the demands of M. de Lavaltrie until January 23, 1720.

Finally, May 26, 1720, the king signed the following con-

cession in favor of M. de Lavaltrie: "Today, May 26, 1720, the king, being at Paris, having heard favorably the demand which has been made of him by the Sr. de Lavaltrie for a grant of land on the coast of Labrador, to establish there still fishing for cod and for seal, his Majesty on the advice of M. the duke d'Orleans, regent, has granted to him the harbor called the St. Augustine River, on the coast of Labrador with two miles of frontage on each side by four miles of depth inland as well as the islands and the smaller islands adjacent to the said harbor to be possessed by him during his life. On condition that he will make the concession valuable by fisheries. His Majesty wishes and intends that he alone shall have, in the harbor and in the two miles granted to him as well as in the adjacent islands, the right to fish for seal and other fish. He is to do it with the vessels which shall come to the said harbor and to the land and islands granted by the present brevet, which allows him to trade with the savages who may be found on the coast of Labrador, without being held bound to pay to his Majesty or to succeeding kings any sum of money or indemnity. His Majesty has made him a gift by the present brevet which shall be registered with the superior council of Quebec and any other places where it is necessary. His Majesty in witness of his desire wishes to sign with his own hand this title counter-signed by me, secretary of state, and of his command and finances.

LOUIS.

FLEURIAH.*

M. de Brouage, who did not know that M. de Lavaltrie had obtained a concession from the king, complained bitterly of him to the minister in 1720.

Oct. 22, 1720, Governor de Vaudreuil wrote to the minister: "Concerning the complaints which Madame de Courtemanche

*Insinuations du Conseil Supérieur, cahier 5.

and her son made to me last year against Sr. de Lavaltrie I took pains to explain to him when I wrote to him last spring that it depended on the command which Seignior Brouage had over all the coast of Labrador and that, being under his order, he ought to have for him the regard due to his rank. That, moreover, he ought to do everything that he could to live on good terms with the said Sr. Brouage and with the lady of Courtemanche, who is his first cousin, since they are children of two sisters. Then I ordered him to leave home as soon as he received my letter to go and pay his respects to the said Sr. de Brouage and his mother. To report to them what he had taken in the boat which they had sent to him and to ask of them their friendship. The said Sr. de Lavaltrie advised me by his reply of July 17 that he was about to do promptly all that I had ordered him. I hope that in the future no more complaints from that quarter will come to the council. At least that Madame de Courtemanche will not continue in the bad humor on account of the jealousy, which she seems to have that others beside herself should settle on a coast, which she believes she ought to possess by herself. Being certain that there is nothing but this jealousy which can keep up in her, the bitterness which she shows against Sr. de Lavaltrie because he attracts the savages to him. But on the contrary she has treated him with much unkindness, not only in refusing him the assistance of powder, bullets and biscuit of which he had extreme need, but also in making her son forbid the captains who were fishing along this coast to furnish St. Malo any."

In 1725, M. de Lavaltrie, Zacharie Turgeon and Charles Turgeon, his son, both residents of Beaumont, and Joseph Filteau, resident of the isle of Orleans, formed a partnership to cultivate by thirds the post of St. Augustine. Turgeon was to furnish his boat called the Saint-Etienne of about twenty tons and he was to have a third of the profits and a third

share of the expenses for three consecutive years. Sept. 6, 1726, the partnership was dissolved, the Turgeons, father and son, retired on account of their share in the profits. The ship, the Saint-Etienne, remained the property of M. de Lavaltrie and Joseph Filteau, who continued together the exploitation of the post of St. Augustine.*

On the death of his mother, March 1, 1733, M. de Lavaltrie had inherited certain rights in the seigniori of Lavaltrie. Nov. 3, 1733, M. de Lavaltrie sold to his eldest brother, Pierre Margane de Lavaltrie, officer in the troops of the detachment of the Marine, "His right of succession, mobile and immobile. fruits and revenues, which he could have in the succession of the late M. Seraphin Margane de Lavaltrie as well as in that of the lady Louise Bissot, their father and mother, for the sum of 2,200 livres."†

The Seigniors under the French regime were often as poor as their tenants. It was not until four years later that the Sr. de Lavaltrie was able to pay off his debt of 2,200 livres to his brother.

Sept. 11, 1737, M. de Lavaltrie farmed out his post on the River St. Augustine, on the coast of Labrador, for the time and space of three years to Michel Petrimoulx, Charles Cheron and Nicolas Cheron, the elder, all of Quebec. The three partners were to carry on the business of fishing for seal of trading with the savages, of hunting, etc., etc., in the place of M. de Lavaltrie. This lease was made for the sum of 250 livres a year. The partners paid their first year's rent in advance.

In 1739, a sad event changed the destiny of M. de Lavaltrie. On the 29th of December his wife, Angelique Guyon-Despres, died at Beauport at the age of fifty-five years. She had given him a son, Louis-François Margane de Lavaltrie, born at Beau-

*Acte de Lonet, September 6, 1726.

†Acte de Adhemar. November 3, 1733.

port, Jan. 28, 1713. Eleven months before the death of his mother, on Jan. 22, 1739, at St. Thomas, young de Lavaltrie had married Marie-Anne Couillard. Left alone in his home, M. de Lavaltrie decided to become a priest. During the 1740 and 1741 he was busy arranging all his affairs and disposing of his interests.

Dec. 9, 1741, M. de Lavaltrie rented, from Sept. 1, 1742, to the same day of 1748, his estate commonly called St. Augustine, on the coast of Labrador, to Jean Baptiste Pommereau, lawyer of Quebec. M. Pommereau was to have possession during his lease of all the privileges granted to M. de Lavaltrie by the act of concession of May 26, 1720. This lease was made for the sum of 250 livres a year. It was understood between M. de Lavaltrie and M. Pommereau that at the end of this lease M. de Lavaltrie could not rent it to anyone without giving the preference to M. Pommereau.

His affairs in order, M. de Lavaltrie entered the high seminary of Quebec. He must have completed an excellent course of study for he received all the orders in less than two years. He was ordained priest by Mgr. de Pontbriand Sept. 22, 1742.

M. de Lavaltrie continued to reside in the seminary of Quebec assisting the curé of Quebec in the functions of Holy Minister. In Jan., 1746, Mgr. de Pontbriand appointed M. de Lavaltrie curé of the parish of Cape St. Ignace. Raised to the priesthood, when he was fifty-eight years old, sick and worn out, M. de Lavaltrie was not in condition to assume the duties of a Holy Minister in the country. In Sept., 1747, he returned to the seminary at Quebec. Mgr. de Pontbriand made him priest of l'Hotel Dieu at Quebec though he lived at the seminary.

M. de Lavaltrie died at the Hotel Dieu at Quebec, March 6, 1750, and was buried the next day in the cemetery of this hospital. It is said in his act of burial that he died "fortified

by the sacraments of the church and after having suffered with patience the pain of a long sickness and having given everyone an example of great virtue."

A word concerning the son of M. de Lavaltrie. We have been able to find neither the place nor the date of his death. All that we can assert is that he died between Dec., 1743, and Aug., 1744. His widow remarried at Beauport, July 3, 1747, Louis Fournier des Carrières, cadet in the company de la Martiniere in the troop of the detachment of the Marine.

By her marriage with M. de Lavaltrie she had had four children.

1. Louis Francois Margane de Lavaltrie. Born at Beauport, April 6, 1740. In 1766 he was an officer in the troops of Louisiana.

2. Marie-Louise-Michelle M. de L. Born at Beauport, Sept. 19, 1741. Died at Quebec, May 17, 1784.

3. Marie-Anne M. de L. Born at Beauport, Sept. 19, 1742. Died at Quebec, Oct. 16, 1797.

4. Angelique M. de L. Born at Beauport, Aug. 27, 1744. Died at St. Thomas, Jan. 4, 1768.

10. Catherine-Alphonsine M. de L. Born at Montreal, March 11, 1690. Died Aug. 17, 1690.

11. Louise-Marguerite M. de L. Born at Montreal, Dec. 5, 1691. Married at Quebec, Oct. 28, 1713, to Claude-Charles Du Tisne, ensign of a company of the troops of the detachment of the Marine.

M. du Tisne, originally from Paris, of the parish St. Germaine d' Auxerre, came to New France in the beginning of the 18th century. In 1714 he obtained permission to serve in the troops of Louisiana. In 1722 he received the command of a company and the following year the king gave him the command of a post among the Illinois. He died among the Illinois in 1730.

One of the sons of M. du Tisne was burned by the Chickasaws, March 25, 1736, at the same time of M. de Vincennes.

VI.

PIERRE MARGANE DES FORETS AND DE
LAVALTRIE.

He was born at Lavaltrie in 1679. He was admitted at the age of fifteen or sixteen years as petty officer in the troops of the detachment of the Marine.

Nov. 17, 1704, M. de Vaudreuil and Beauharnois wrote to the minister: "A Sr. de Batilly, ensign, who distinguished himself greatly in the party which Sr. de Vaudreuil sent this winter against the English having been killed there we propose to you Sr. de Forets, who has been a petty officer for a long time, to fill the position of his brother, who is the second of the family killed in the service of the king. He is a very good subject who deserves the honor of your protection. Both of them are children of an ancient captain in the troops of this country after having been in Carignan's regiment."

We must believe that the minister had many others to advance in rank before M. de Forets, since it was not until eight years later that he was promoted ensign. His commission is dated June 21, 1712. He is still designated under the name of M. des Forets.

In 1721 M. des Forets, or rather M. de Lavaltrie, for he had taken the name of his father in the interval, rose in rank. He was made Lieutenant. The delay had this time been nine years. M. de Lavaltrie, certainly took part in some of the campaigns of the troops of the Marine during the period between 1712 and 1721, but we can find no mention of it.

May 12, 1739, M. de Lavaltrie received the command of a company.¹

¹ Rapport sur les archives Canadiennes for 1904, p. 261.

Aug. 12, 1746, M. de Lavaltrie assisted, at the Chateau St. Louis at Quebec, at an important convention of the principle officers of the colony, military as well as civil, and of the residents of Quebec. It was necessary to make a decision concerning the importance of continuing or not the fortifications of Quebec. Minister Maurepas was of the opinion that these works were not necessary and that if they were undertaken it should be at the expense of the residents of Quebec. Opinion differed much. Most of the civil officers and of the merchants pronounced themselves in favor of the destruction of the work already begun. Some of them were in favor of suspending the work until a new order from His Majesty. Finally the majority was in favor of continuing the work. M. de Lavaltrie was among this number.

In the month of Aug., 1746, M. de Rigaud received from Gov. Beauharnois the command of a party of Canadians and Indians, who were to make a sally into New England covering Fort St. Frederic. He had under his orders 600 Canadians and 300 savages. Among his officers were Captain de Lavaltrie. An account of this expedition may be found in the Archives of Canada, Correspondance Generale.

M. de Lavaltrie was among the number of the officers of this expedition recommended as the most worthy of promotion and of the cross of St. Louis, which he received May 23, 1749.

In 1751, M. de Lavaltrie was at Fort Frontenac with M. de Vercheres.*

By a letter from M. de Longueuil to M. de Rouillé, April 21, 1752, we discover that M. de Lavaltrie was then commandant at Fort Niagara. M. de Celeron, commander at Detroit, had sent M. de Lavaltrie important dispatches begging him to have a soldier carry them to Fort Rouille (Toronto) whence they would be sent on to Montreal. This soldier disappeared.

*L'abbe Auguste Gosselin, *Le Fondateur De la Presentation: L'abbe Picquet*, p. 21.

He had probably been killed by the Indians. M. de Lavaltrie took much trouble to find the dispatches of M. de Celleron fearing that they had fallen into the hands of the English.

On Oct. 1, 1755, M. de Vaudreuil, governor of New France, held a conference at Montreal with twenty ambassadors from the Tsonnontouans. M. de Lavaltrie was among the officers who assisted at this conference. The principle orator was the chief Gaiachoton who presented several wampum belts to the governor. M. de Joncaire who had been adopted by the tribe was their interpreter. The savage etiquette demanded a certain delay between the presentation of the wampum belts and the reply of the governor. On Oct. 3 the Indian ambassadors received again M. de Vaudreuil and the officers who had assisted at the former conference.*

Dec. 13, 1756, there was held a new conference again at Montreal between M. de Vaudreuil and 100 ambassadors from various Indian tribes.

M. de Vaudreuil in order to dazzle these important personages surrounded himself with a brilliant staff. M. de Lavaltrie assisted at this conference also. The chiefs of the Iroquois of Sault Saint-Louis and of the Lake of the Two Mountains were also present. The speeches were numerous and long. M. Perthuis, who spoke Iroquois, as if it were his own tongue, was the orator on this occasion.

In August, 1757, M. de Lavaltrie took part in the siege of Fort William Henry situated at the lower end of Lake Saint-Sacrament (today Lake George). The French and Canadian troops were commanded by MM. de Montcalm and de Levis. They accomplished prodigies of valor. The Indians also fought valiantly. Colonel Monroe, commander of Fort William Henry, capitulated Aug. 9, 1757, after having put up an intrepid defense for nine days.

*E-B O'Callaghan, Documents relative to the history of the State of New York, vol. X. p. 345.

This glorious victory was, however, sullied by the massacre which the allied savages inflicted upon the English prisoners of war. There was, it would seem, imprudence on both sides. On the French side not enough precaution was taken to protect the English from the attacks of the savages. On the English side the inconceivable imprudence was committed of giving rum in abundance to the savages.

The following year on July 8, M. de Lavaltrie took part in the glorious battle of Carillon, which was the fruit of the military genius of Montcalm and of the valor of his troops.

Jan. 26, 1759, the king granted a pension of 400 livres to M. de Lavaltrie.

From a letter from M. de Vaudreuil to Minister Berryer of March 30, 1759, we see that M. de Lavaltrie passed the winter of 1758 and 1759 near Fort Duquesne, watching the movements of the English, with a certain number of Canadians and of Indians.

In a general table of the officers of the Marine serving in Canada, prepared in 1759 or in 1760 one reads:

"Lavaltrie Desforets infantry ensign in 1712, lieutenant in 1721 Captain in 1739."

In a postscript list of the officers of the troops of the detachment of the Marine prepared in 1761 or 1762 one reads concerning M. de Lavaltrie: "Rich, an honest man, a widower, out of condition to serve. Has remained in Canada."

M. de Lavaltrie did not survive long the change of regime. He died at Montreal Jan. 1, 1766.

He had married at Montreal Oct. 14, 1732, Louise-Charlotte d'Ailleboust d'Argenteuil. Of their marriage were born four children.

1. Louise-Jeanne M. de L. Born at Montreal, Aug. 8, 1733. Died Dec. 27, 1822, and was buried at Lavaltrie the 30 of the same month.

2. Marguerite-Charlotte M. de L. Born at Montreal Feb. 28, 1735. Died in the same place June 7, 1735.

3. Marguerite-Charlotte-Stanislas M. de L. Born at Montreal Nov. 13, 1739. Died at St Laurent April 29, 1749.

4. Pierre-Paul M. de L. Born at Montreal Aug. 14, 1743. The continuer of the line.

Pierre-Paul Margane de Lavaltrie.

He entered in the troops of the detachment of the Marine when he was thirteen years old. In 1759 when he was hardly sixteen years old, he fought bravely against the English. After the fall of Quebec and the capitulation of Montreal he went to France in order to continue to serve in the French army. In 1765 he returned to this country, at the request of his father, who was then eighty-seven years old and whose only son he was, to whom he wished to leave his seigniory.

In 1775 faithful to the new masters of the country M. de Lavaltrie took up arms to fight against the American troops who had invaded the Canadian territory, and was on the list of officers named in order of merit because they had shown themselves to be good subjects.

In 1791 England granted us a new constitution. The ancient province of Quebec was divided into two provinces, Upper Canada and Lower Canada. Each one having a legislative council and a chamber of the Assembly. The province of Lower Canada was divided into twenty-one counties.

At the election of deputies to the new chamber in the summer of 1792, M. de Lavaltrie was chosen deputy of the county of Warwick in which his seigniory was located. He kept his seat to the end of the first parliament, until May, 1796.

M. de Lavaltrie died at his seigniory at Lavaltrie, Sept. 10, 1810. He was buried two days later in the church of Lavaltrie under the seigniorial pew at the right hand side of the altar.

M. de Lavaltrie married at Terre Bonne, March 31, 1766, Marie-Angelique de La Corne de Chapt. She died at Lavaltrie Feb. 26, 1815, and was buried the next day in the parish church. Only one child was born of their marriage. Suzanne Antoinette, who married Charles Gaspard Tarieu de Lanaudière. Madame Tarieu de Lanaudière died at Lavaltrie, April 22, 1822, and was buried in the parish church under the chapel of the Holy Virgin. With her death disappeared the last member of the family of Lavaltrie, who had played so wonderful a role in our country for a century and a half.

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